THE PHONOLOGY OF ATTIC IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

STUDIA GRAECA ET LATINA
GOTHOBURGENSIA
XL

THE PHONOLOGY OF ATTIC IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

BY

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ACTA UNIVERSITATIS GOTHOBURGENSIS

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Printed with the aid of the
Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet

Distributors:

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS GOTHOBURGENSIS
Box 5096, S-402 22 Göteborg 5, Sweden

ISBN 91-7346-059-1 (pb)
ISBN 91-7346-060-5 (cloth)
ISSN 0081-6450

Printed in Sweden by
Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1978

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PREFACE

In 1974 my first study of Attic phonology was published. The aim of the work was to investigate the range and position of the innovative popular phonological system of Attic, an entity familiar to all Greek historical linguists. This "vulgar" Attic pronunciation has generally been looked upon as used mainly or exclusively by minor groups (tradefolk, workmen, slaves, etc.), and it was also thought to have been caused by external, Boeotian or other, influence.

A revision of current methods in this field of research seemed desirable. Two demands should be met: the collection of infrequent orthographic variants ought to comprise all extant instances, and the data should be evaluated systematically. These methodological principles have been fundamental to all three studies alike.

The comprehensive study of orthographic variation in Attic showed that "vulgar" orthographic variants are rather frequent even in official documents, which suggests that the innovative pronunciation was more widespread in late classical times than has hitherto been recognized. Other kinds of evidence also supported this conclusion but showed especially clearly that the conservative pronunciation was still used for centuries after the classical period.

These results inspired my investigation of the Ptolemaic orthography (1977). Like F. Gignac (1976) I left out the secondary material as being of limited value for the exploration of the history of the language. As a result of the study it could be established that the phonology of Ptolemaic Koine was in some respects more conservative than late classical Attic.

The present study differs considerably from the previous ones in that the sociolinguistic aspect is much more prominent. The relative ranges of the two major phonological subsystems form a main subject for discussion in Chapters 3 and 4 and in part of Chapter 5.

One aim of this book—and of the project as a whole—was to clarify the relations between Attic and Koine. The results attained made poss-

ible the outline of the evolution of Koine presented at the end of Chapter 5.

The work was supported by the Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet, which also defrayed the expense of printing.

Thanks are due, above all, to Professor Cajus Fabricius for reading large parts of the manuscript and offering valuable criticism. I also thank Fil. kand. Ferenc Tafferner who typed the rather difficult manuscript.

Göteborg, November 1978 *Sven-Tage Teodorsson*

INTRODUCTORY

The origin of Koine, the Common Greek language, and its relation to the Attic dialect are important issues in the history of Greek. Considering that Modern Greek, with all its contemporary variation, derives ultimately from Hellenistic Koine,[1] the transition from Attic to Koine appears especially interesting. The present study is the third and last part of a project on Attic and Ptolemaic phonology designed to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the development of Attic and the relations between Attic and Koine.[2] Since the present investigation is a direct sequel to the first part, it should be studied in close connection with that work.

Knowledge of the phonological history of a language is fundamental for any adequate and total description of its development. The phonetic evolution and the nature, order, and chronology of the phonological changes that have taken place in the language are of basic importance to anyone who wants to write the history of its morphology or describe its dialectology.

Phonological research on remote language stages is never an easy task. The information available is mostly fragmentary and often ambiguous. The case of Greek, however, is certainly less problematic than most other languages thanks to the rich stock of extant primary written documents from various periods and regions. This is especially true of Attic and Ptolemaic Koine and, consequently, this was another incentive, besides the central problem of the relation Attic–Koine as such, to undertake the investigation project.

Like the first two studies, the present one is an orthographic study. The underlying theory is that, on condition that there exists a suffi-

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[1] Beside Tsakonian there are remnants of the old dialects in various Modern Greek dialects. Cf., for example, Debrunner 1969: 48–50; Tsopanakis 1955; Newton 1967; Rohlfs 1973; Andriotis 1974.

[2] Teodorsson 1974 and 1977.

ciently large corpus of primary written documents from the period and area under investigation, a comprehensive study of the orthography of those texts can provide the most reliable information about the phonetic and phonological patterns of the language. The Attic of the classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as the Ptolemaic Greek, can be regarded as fulfilling this requirement.

The most conspicuous orthographic variations and alternations found in Ancient Greek documents have been studied thoroughly by many scholars for a long time. The more infrequent ones have also generally been observed and discussed. Unfortunately, however, there has always been a lack of a systematic approach to the material, which, among other factors, has given rise to quite diverging opinions on Ancient Greek pronunciation.

The starting-point of this project was the idea that the traditional orthographic norm must not be presupposed to reflect the pronunciation but rather to disguise the actual phonetic and phonological state of the language, while infrequent orthografic variants should in principle be looked upon as caused by a changed correspondence between phoneme and grapheme.[3] By collecting instances of infrequent orthographic variants as completely as possible and evaluating this material in a systematic way, it is likely that the judgments made about the phonology of the language investigated will be more exact than those based on a selective and widely *ad hoc* method.

Besides the internal, orthographic, data there is also the secondary material, orthophonic information, rhymes, allusions, onomatopoeia, and loan-words. This type of evidence may also be of value for the phonologist in reconstructing the phonology of a language at a point of time in the past. But there are often serious difficulties in using that material. It can hardly be evaluated in a statistical way. It is often im-

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[3] Teodorsson 1974: 172, *Principle 3*, and 173.—In research on the historical phonology of other languages than Greek this basic principle seems to have been more generally made use of. "Occasional or naive spellings render most readily all distributional changes found in colloquial speech ... The traditional orthography usually reflects the forms of slow, careful speech ... Occasional spellings indicate general (unconditioned) or limited (conditioned) phonemic merger. They may do this preceding to a general orthographic change. They may reveal the phonemic change the orthography does not show through any adjustment" (Penzl 1957: 202–203). For examples of practical application of this principle, cf. Braune 1891: 38–39; Behaghel 1911: 84–85; Zachrisson 1913: 52–91, 155–161, and 224–225; Wyld 1920: 65–73 and 113–117; Penzl 1947: 34–35.—See further discussion below, pp. 99–103.

possible to relate such data, e.g. a loan-word, to the period and area of the dialect under investigation, and the information provided by, for example, a rhyme, an allusion, or an onomatopoeic word, is mostly so vague as to be of little value. Orthophonic statements may be prescriptive. Thus, information from such material can seldom be decisive, but only supplementary, in comparison with the direct internal data from primary graphic documents.[4]

For this reason the secondary material was only treated briefly and not exhaustively in Teodorsson 1974, and it was excluded from the Ptolemaic study[5] as well as from the present one. It is doubtful, anyhow, if there actually exists any secondary material that can be related with certainty to Attica and the dialect spoken there in the last two centuries B.C. The extensive and systematic study of the orthographic material seemed more important and rewarding, while the study of the secondary evidence could be postponed to be carried out in separate investigations which should also be exhaustive.

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[4] In so far as such data are not caused by non-phonetic factors (cf. below, pp. 14–17) they form the direct, largely unconscious, outcome of the graphonomic and phonographonomic competence of the writer (cf. Teodorsson 1977: 38–42) and thus reflect phonetic patterns more directly than other historical data can do. And this is important because "it has never been possible to practise respectable phonemics without taking adequate account of the underlying phonetics" (Hamp 1962: 639).

Phonetic change precedes phonemic change. Internal interference within the phonemic system originates through phonetic overlapping between the dispersion areas of the phonemes (Pulgram 1962), which, when reaching the critical point, may produce transposition (Teodorsson 1974: 55) into the graphemic system.

[5] Teodorsson 1977.

Chapter 1

THE BASIS OF THE RELATIONAL STUDY

An orthographic study is a phonemic-graphemic relational study. It is investigated which grapheme(s) occur(s) as correspondence(s) to (a) given phoneme(s). The basis of such a study must then be the graphemic system on the one hand and the phonemic one on the other. Since the actual subject of the present special type of orthographic study is constituted of the deviations from the normal phoneme-grapheme correspondences, these also form a starting-point for the study.

The graphemic system used in Attic during the Hellenistic period was the Ionic one introduced in Athens in 403 B.C. The graphemes were listed in Teodorsson 1974: 34.

Allographic variation need not be considered in this type of study; the identification of the graphemes is sufficient. When there is uncertainty as to which grapheme was written, the instance is marked with factor (2).[6]

In order to be able to carry out a phonemic-graphemic relational study one must assume a tentative phonemic system. This should be built on existing knowledge about the language to be investigated, and it should contain all historically possible phonemic distinctions that may be assumed for a point of time before that treated in the investigation.

Considering that the dialect investigated in the present study is the Attic of the Hellenistic period, it is natural to accept the phoneme inventory of Teodorsson 1974,[7] except that the phoneme /æ/ is excluded,[8] and posit it for the time about 350 B.C.

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[6] Cf. below, pp. 14–15.

[7] Pp. 36–37. Cf. Schwyzer 1939: I 178–414, especially p. 179.

[8] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 90–92 and 184–186. The merger [æ:] > [ɛ:] must have taken place a long time before the 4th century.

The tentative phonemic system is tested by the study of orthographic variations, to see to what extent the evidence confirms its structures.

The correspondences between the graphemic system and the phonemic system are based on existing knowledge of the origin and history of the Greek alphabet, and of the etymology of Greek words. For the time about 350 B.C. the tentative correspondences[9] to be assumed are the following:

Autographeme(s)	Vowel phoneme(s)
⟨A⟩	/a(:)/
⟨E⟩	/e/
⟨H⟩	/ɛ:/
⟨I⟩	/i(:)/
⟨O⟩	/o/
⟨Υ⟩	/y(:)/
⟨Ω⟩	/ɔ:/
⟨AI⟩	/a(:)i/
⟨EI⟩	/e:/, /ɛ:i/
⟨HI⟩	/ɛ:i/
⟨OI⟩	/oi/
⟨ΥΙ⟩	/yi/
⟨ΩI⟩	/ɔ:i/
⟨OΥ⟩	/u:/
⟨AΥ⟩	/au/[10]
⟨EΥ⟩	/eu/

Syngrapheme(s)	Consonant phoneme(s)
⟨B⟩	/b/
⟨Γ⟩	/g/, /n/
⟨Δ⟩	/d/
⟨Z⟩	/sd/, /ds/[11]

[9] The phonemic system was denominated tentative.

[10] There is no reason to assume that the original long u-diphthongs /ɛ:u, a:u, o:u/ existed as late as ca. 350 B.C. Evidence is the change of orthographic norm ⟨HΥ⟩ into ⟨EΥ⟩ during the 4th century (Meisterhans 1900: 171–172,14, and Schwyzer 1939: I 203).

[11] The phonemic correspondence of ⟨Z⟩ has been much discussed; cf. Schwyzer 1939: I 329–332; Rohlfs 1962; Bailey 1968; Teodorsson 1979.

Syngrapheme(s)	Consonant phoneme(s)
⟨Θ⟩	/tʰ/
⟨Κ⟩	/k/
⟨Λ⟩	/l/
⟨Μ⟩	/m/
⟨Ν⟩	/n/
⟨Ξ⟩	/ks/
⟨Π⟩	/p/
⟨Ρ⟩	/r/
⟨Σ⟩	/s/
⟨Τ⟩	/t/
⟨Φ⟩	/pʰ/
⟨Χ⟩	/kʰ/
⟨Ψ⟩	/ps/
⟨ΓΓ⟩	/g:/, /ng/
⟨ΚΚ⟩	/k:/
⟨ΛΛ⟩	/l:/
⟨ΜΜ⟩	/m:/
⟨ΝΝ⟩	/n:/
⟨ΠΠ⟩	/p:/
⟨ΡΡ⟩	/r:/
⟨ΣΣ⟩	/s:/
⟨ΤΤ⟩	/t:/

There are no graphemic correspondences to the length phoneme, /:/, and the pitch phoneme, /ˈ/.[12]

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[12] For the nature of the Ancient Greek accent, cf. Allen 1966: 8–13, and Teodorsson 1974: 39–40.

Chapter 2

A PHONEMIC-GRAPHEMIC RELATIONAL STUDY OF HELLENISTIC ATTIC

The method followed in this study is the same as in the two preceding ones where it was presented and discussed.[13] It is not necessary therefore to dwell upon general methodological issues here. Only operational principles relevant to the present study are stated.

The inventory of non-phonetic factors is congruent with that used in Teodorsson 1974. However, the factors (1) and (4) of that study[14] never apply in the present one, because the group of strictly private documents that was marked with factor (1) there is lacking here, which is also the case with the alphabetic causes that formed the basis for marking with factor (4).

Non-Phonetic Factors of Orthographic Variation

Factor (1)

Void.

Factor (2)

Technical causes

Such causes produce graphemic ambiguity, so that it cannot be decided with certainty what grapheme the writer intended by the graph. They may be either

(a) primary, e.g. careless or unskilful handling of writing implements by the writer, or defective quality of writing materials or implements, or

(b) secondary, i.e. damage to writing material arisen after the characters had been applied to it.

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[13] Teodorsson 1974: 46–56 and 1977: 48–51.

[14] Pp. 56–57 and 60.

Marking with factor (2) is done when

1. there is a verification[15] indicating ambiguity in the essential graph(s)[16] of the instance, or when

2. there is no verification and the essential graph(s) of the instance is (are) adjacent to

(a) a lacuna (τῶ [β]ο[υλευτηρίωι),

(b) the end of the line at the edge of the stone, and further when

3. the document, in which the instance is found, is lost and the edition is not based on a squeeze or a photograph.

Factor (3)

Editorial causes

Such causes produce uncertainty as to whether the graph(s) of the instance as printed in the edition is (are) actually found on the original.

Marking with factor (3) is done when no verification indicating the graphic character of the instance is provided by the editor.[17]

Factor (4)

Void.

Factor (5)

Non-Greek interference causes

Such causes may produce orthographic variation especially in graphic words containing one or more non-Greek morphemes.

Marking with factor (5) is done when the instance is found in a non-Greek morpheme.

---

[15] Cf. below, p. 19.

[16] A graph is essential if it alone constitutes the instance, e.g. ⟨O⟩ for ⟨Ω⟩, or if it forms the part of the instance that makes it such, e.g. ⟨I⟩ in ⟨HI⟩ for ⟨H⟩.

[17] Instances lacking a verification in the edition were examined on the original by the author as far as that was possible.

Factor (6)

Morphological causes

Such causes produce morphemic ambiguity, so that it cannot be exactly decided what morpheme the writer intended to write. The causes may be

1. deficient morphological knowledge in the writer, so that he contaminates two (or more) morphemes,[18] or

2. our insufficient knowledge of what morpheme the writer intended, or

3. defective writing or damages to the text.

Marking with factor (6) is done when

1. augment forms are used incorrectly (ἤστίασεν), or

2. there is doubt about what morpheme the writer intended to write (Πίθωνος (for Πείθωνος or Πύθωνος)), or

3. damages to the text make the reading morphologically uncertain ([Ἀ]ζην⟨ι⟩εύς (Ἀτηνεύς may have been intended)).

Factor (7)

Syntactic/contextual causes

Such causes may produce orthographic variation in a graphic word through influence from an adjacent graphic word. The influence may be due to either or both

1. the writer's misinterpreting the syntactic relations of the clause and

2. psycholinguistic processes of graphic[19] assimilation with graphic elements of an adjacent word.

Marking with factor (7) is done when an instance of orthographic variation may be supposed to have arisen through

1. syntactic misinterpreting or confusion of structures (ἐποιήσα⟨ν⟩το), or

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[18] In the Ptolemaic study (Teodorsson 1977: 53) deficient morphological knowledge in the scribe was assumed as an extensive cause of morphemic ambiguity to be marked. The reason was mainly the possibility that the scribe was a non-Greek, which does not need to be considered for marking in the Attic material.

[19] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 54, n. 176.

2. graphic assimilation with graphs of an adjacent word resulting in identity of the graph(s) of the instance with graphs in that word (ἐπιμελητᾶις ταῖς (for τῆς)).

Context-Sensitive Factors of Orthographic Variation

The following types of context-sensitive phonetic causes of orthographic variation are marked: assimilation, dissimilation, and metathesis. The markers, (Ass), (Diss), (Met), indicate (a) the possibility that the causes they refer to are the sources of origin of the instance, (b) the limitation of the phonetic change in question. The processes are defined as taking place within the word.[20]

Marking with (Ass), (Diss), and (Met) is done according to the rules formulated in Teodorsson 1977: 55–56.

The Corpus

The corpus is constituted by all available extant primary graphic documents in Attic (Koine) produced in Attica between ca. 200 B.C. and the time of the birth of Christ.

The corpus comprises a total of ca. 990 pages (normal book size).

Only extant instances are accepted, i.e. the graph(s) must in principle be legible on the original or on copies made by modern scholars. Restored graphs are accepted only as the unessential part of an instance constituted of more than one grapheme, for example, ὁπλε[ι]τας.

To make an exact dating of instances possible, the documents of the corpus must be primary. Copies are accepted as primary with their own date if that is B.C. Documents not explicitly dated B.C. were excluded.

The documents must be written in Attic (Koine). Documents showing non-Attic, mainly Doric, general characteristics are excluded.

The documents must have been written in Attica. By Attica is meant the entire peninsula including Eleusis and Salamis, but no other islands and not Oropos.

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[20] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 55, n. 179.

Operational Principles

LIMITATIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF DATA

To be included in the data, the orthographic variants must not have a relative frequency higher than ca. 25 %. If there exist two or more infrequent variants, these together must not have a relative frequency higher than 25 %.[21] Non-orthographic writings[22] fall outside and thus are not counted in the absolute frequency.

What variants should be classed as infrequent was decided on the basis of the information of Meisterhans (1900), Lademann (1915), and Henry (1964 and 1967).[23] For morphemes represented by so few occurrences in the corpus that the statistical way of establishing the orthographic norm does not work, acceptance is based on their etymology, which must be absolutely certain, and their orthography as attested elsewhere.

Some orthographic variants that, according to the above principles, ought to be in the data have been totally or partially excluded for one or more of the following reasons:

(a) they have been sufficiently well described and accounted for in earlier studies,[24]

(b) they are too frequent in certain positions or morphemes.

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[21] This is in accordance with Teodorsson 1977: 57. In Teodorsson 1974 (p. 69) the general limit was set at 10 %, with allowance for exceptional cases up to 25 %. However, as the exact relative frequency of the various orthographic variants cannot be established by the method used, it seems reasonable to state the wider limit as a general one.

Vars. 19 and 77 form an exception. For practical reasons they were included, although their frequency probably surpasses 25 %.

[22] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 50, and 1977: 49, n. 161.

[23] Unsettled orthography caused the exclusion of the following cases, among others, ἐλαι-~ἐλα-, πλει-~πλε-, -κλεια~-κλεα, ποι-~πο-, Λευκονοι-~Λευκονο-, Μουνυχ-~Μουνιχ-, ἥμισυ~ἥμυσυ, βιβλ-~βυβλ-, Ἡρωιδ-~Ἡρωδ-, Μυρριν-~Μυριν-, Φρεαρρι-~Φρεαρι-, fem. perf. part. -υι-~-ει- (γεγονεῖα), ⟨ΗΙ⟩~⟨ΕΙ⟩ in the dative of the 1st declension, in the subjunctive, in the augment, and in tribal names, ⟨ΑΙΙ⟩~⟨ΑΙ⟩ in endings with original ⟨ΑΙΙ⟩.

The almost invariable substitution of ⟨Ο⟩ and ⟨ΟΙ⟩ for ⟨Ω⟩ and ⟨ΩΙ⟩ respectively in the eighteenth century copy underlying *IG* II² 2316 was not accepted as orthographic variation.

[24] Cf. Meisterhans 1900, Lademann 1915, and Henry 1964 and 1967.

1. The following variants were excluded in their entirely: ⟨Λ⟩ for ⟨P⟩, ⟨P⟩ for ⟨Λ⟩, ⟨M⟩ for ⟨N⟩, and ⟨N⟩ for ⟨M⟩.[25]

2. The following variants were excluded when occurring in the positions or morphemes indicated: ⟨Γ⟩ for ⟨K⟩ /_/C^{ton}/, and ⟨ΥΙ⟩ for ⟨Υ⟩ in ὑός.[26]

3. Finally, the cases listed under 6 in Teodorsson 1977: 59 are excluded from the data.

VERIFICATION

For each instance the source of verification is indicated in the far right-hand column. The abbreviations refer to the following sources of verification:

Inscr. exam.	Inscription examined in the original, on which the instance was verified.
Ph.	Inscription published with a photograph, on which the instance is legible.
FS	Inscription published with a facsimile, on which the instance is verified.
Comm.	Inscription published with a commentary or note clearly indicating the graphic character of the instance.
CL	Inscription published with a transcription in capital letters roughly indicating the graphic character of the instance.

If the instance is not verified by any of the sources mentioned, i.e., if it was published in minuscules only without a note and if it was not examined on the original it was marked with factor (3).[27]

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[25] Meisterhans 1900: 84.

[26] The orthographic norm is ὑός.

[27] Above, p. 15.

Orthographic data

1. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨I⟩.

1.	ἄπιμι	(3) (Ass)	*Epigr. Gr.* 95,5	3rd c. (?)	—
2.	Κόπρι[ος	(2)	*IG* II² 6539,3	3rd/2nd c.	CL
3.	Ἡράκλι[τος(?)]		*SEG* 14,196,1	3rd/2nd c.	Ph.
4.	Στιριε[ύς]	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 2442,3	After 200	CL
5.	βραβῖα	(2)	*IG* II² 3147,5	Early 2nd c.	CL
6.	Ἑρμίας	(6)	*IG* II² 2332,124	183/2	CL
7.	ἀπολέλιπται		*IG* II² 1329,9	175/4	Inscr. exam.
8.	Ἰκόνος		*IG* II² 1329,27	175/4	Inscr. exam.
9.	Ἀμι[ν]ίου	(6) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1224 (a/b) 11	Ca. 166	CL
10.	ἀίσιτοι	(Ass)	*Hesp.* 3,21,19,6	166/5	Ph.
11.	Διραδιώτου		*IG* II² 4457,12	After 150	CL
12.	κεχιροτονημένοι	(2) (3)	*SEG* 21,584,9	144/3 (?)	—
13.	πέμπτιν		*SEG* 21,469,27	129/8	Inscr. exam.
14.	πιθαρχοῦντες		*IG* II² 1006,17	122/1	CL
15.	Τιθ[ρά]σιος		*IG* II² 1008 I 103	119/8	CL
16.	Χ]ολλίδης		*IG* II² 1009 II 67	116/5	CL
17.	Ἡρακλίδου		*IG* II² 6050,2	2nd c.	CL
18.	Ἰς		*IG* II² 2336,114	102/96 (*SEG* 24,195)	CL
19.	Πίθωνος	(2) (6)	*SEG* 15,146,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
20.	Ἰκόνος		*SEG* 25,129,10	Early 1st c.	Ph.
21.	Διραδιώτη[ς]		*IG* II² 4991,14	91/0	CL
22.	Τισάνδρου		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,166,98,17	Soon before 60	Ph.
23.	Ἰκάδας		*IG* II² 1046,4	52/1	Inscr. exam.
24.	Ποσιδίππου	(Ass)	*IG* II² 2461,53	Ca. 50	CL
25.	Ποσίδιππος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 2461,67	Ca. 50	CL
26.	Ἰσιτητήρια	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1043,8	38/7	Inscr. exam.
27.	ἐπιδή		*IG* II² 1043,16	38/7	Inscr. exam.
28.	ἐπιδικνύμενον	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1043,67	38/7	CL
29.	Θεοπίθου		*IG* II² 1343,6	Ca. 37/6	CL
30.	ἀδιαλίπτως		*IG* II² 1343,15	Ca. 37/6	CL
31.	ἀδιαλίπτωι		*IG* II² 1343,35	Ca. 37/6	CL
32.	ἀναθῖναι		*IG* II² 1343,40	Ca. 37/6	CL
33.	ὀφιλέτωσαν		*SEG* 23,77,5	37 or soon after	Ph.
34.	ξακορεύιν		*SEG* 23,77,7	37 or soon after	Ph.
35.	μένιν		*SEG* 23,77,16	37 or soon after	Ph.
36.	ἱερῖ ὅπως		*SEG* 23,77,18	37 or soon after	Ph.

6. Could also be = Ἑρμέας; marked (6).
9. May also have been substituted for Ἀμυνίου; marked (6).
19. May also have been written for Υ; hence (6).

37. ἐκκίμενον		*SEG* 23,77,18	37 or soon after	Ph.
38. πλίστην		*SEG* 23,77,20	37 or soon after	Ph.
39. ἵλαντο		*SEG* 17,46,4	21/0	Ph.
40. ἵλαντο		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,5	Ca. 20	Ph.
41. ἱερίας		*IG* II² 4126,12	After 14	CL
42. Στιριεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,37	13/2	Ph.
43. Στιριε[ύς]	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,38	13/2	Ph.
44. Σ]τι[ριε]ύς	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,39	13/2	Ph.
45. Στιριεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,40	13/2	Ph.
46. Στιριεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,41	13/2	Ph.
47. Στιριεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1963,43	13/2	Ph.
48. Ἡράκλιτος	(2)	*IG* II² 1722,5	After 9/8	CL
49. Διραδιώτης	(2)	*IG* II² 1722,12	After 9/8	CL
50. Εὐγίτονος	(2)	*IG* II² 1722,13	After 9/8	CL
51. λιτουργός	(2)	*IG* II² 1722,21	After 9/8	CL
52. λιτουργός		*IG* II² 1723,9	After 9/8	CL
53. κιμ[έν]οις		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 10	Ca. 10/02	Inscr. exam.
54. Πιραιεῖ		*Hesp* 44,207 A/C 15	Ca. 10/02	Ph.
55. τίχη		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 48	Ca. 10/02	Ph.
56. τίχ[ο]υς		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 56	Ca. 10/02	Ph.
57. Τισίο[υ	(2) (6) (Ass)	*IG* II² 2648,3	4th/1st c.	CL
58. Χολλίδης		*SEG* 3,202,3	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
59. Διραδιώτης		*IG* II² 5967,4	Late 1st c.	CL
60. ἵ[λοντο]	(2) (3)	*SEG* 21,496,2	Late 1st c.	—
61. ἀίσιτοι	(Ass)	*SEG* 21,497,12	Late 1st c.	Ph.
62. ἰκόνο[ς]		*SEG* 21,497,21	Late 1st c.	Ph.

39–40. = εἵλοντο.

2. *Norm*: ⟨I⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /i:/.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. Ἀνκυρείτης	*IG* II² 7921,2	3rd/2nd c.	CL
2. Βερενεικίδην	*IG* II² 913,34	Ca. 200	Ph.
3. Βερενεικίδην	*IG* II² 915,24	Ca. 200	Comm.
4. γείνεσθαι	*IG* II² 1328,5	Ca. 183/2	CL
5. φιλοτειμοῦνται	*IG* II² 1328,34	Ca. 175/4	CL
6. ⟨T⟩ειμασίθεος	*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,148,84,114	155/4	Ph.
7. Εἰφι[στιά]δης	*IG* II² 1009 II 105	116/5	CL
8. κατακεκλειμένων	*SEG* 21,536,10	111/0	Ph.

9. Προβαλείσιος		*IG* II² 1011 V 104	106/5	CL
10. [Ἀφρο]δεισίου		*IG* II² 6726,2	2nd c.	Ph.
11. Βοσπορείτης		*IG* II² 8424,2	2nd c.	CL
12. Εἰσιγένηα	(5)	*IG* II² 10371,1	2nd c.	CL
13. Καλλετείμα		*IG* II² 11758,1	2nd c.	Comm.
14. Μειλεσία		*SEG* 2,38,2	2nd c.	Comm.
15. Μειλησία		*Hesp.* 16,172,68,2	Ca. 100	Inscr. exam.
16. Τειμοκλήους		*Hesp.* 16,172,68,3	Ca. 100	Inscr. exam.
17. Κηφεισοδώρου	(3)	*IG* II² 6936,2	2nd/1st c.	—
18. Εἰσιγένης	(5)	*IG* II² 8690,1	2nd/1st c.	CL
19. Εἰφιστιάδου		*IG* II² 10284,5	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
20. Εἰσιδώρα	(5)	*IG* II² 11740,1	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
21. Εἰσιγένου	(5)	*SEG* 3,216,5	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
22. ὠδεῖνας		*SEG* 3,216,10	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
23. Εἰσιδώρου	(5)	*SEG* 25,281,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
24. Μειλησία		*SEG* 25,281,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
25. Εἰσιάς		*AJP* 28,432,5,1	Late 2nd/early 1st c.	Comm.
26. Κηφεισι[ῖς]		*SEG* 25,190,1	After 85	Ph.
27. Ταραν[τ]εῖνος		*Hesp.* 17,30,14,3	64/3 (?)	Ph.
28. Νεικίου		*Hesp.* 17,30,14,3	64/3 (?)	Ph.
29. τειμῶντες	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 1050,8	Ca. 50	—
30. τειμῶσα		*IG* II² 1050,17	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.
31. γείν[ηται		*IG* II² 1062,10	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.
32. Κηφεισι[εύς]		*IG* II² 1965,9	Ca. 50 (*SEG* 17,53)	Inscr. exam.
33. Τειμαγέ[ν]ης		*IG* II² 2461,136	Ca. 50	CL
34. Σαβείνου	(5)	*IG* II² 4111,4	Ca. 45	Ph.
35. Κησωρεῖνον	(5)	*IG* II² 4113,2	42/0	CL
36. Διότειμ[ος		*SEG* 24,180,17	Ca. 50/40	Ph.
37. γεινομέ[ναις	(7)	*IG* II² 1042 (a/b) 20	Ca. 41/0	CL
38. Εἰκαριεύς	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (c) 2	Ca. 41/0	CL
39. φιλοτείμως	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 3	Ca. 41/0	CL
40. Νεικάνορα		*IG* II² 1049,3	Ca. 40/39	Inscr. exam.
41. τειμῶσα		*IG* II² 1043,15	38/7	Inscr. exam.
42. Ἐπαφρόδειτο[ς		*IG* II² 1043 I 108	38/7	CL
43. Ἀφροδείσιος		*IG* II² 1043 II 114	38/7	CL
44. Σαλαμείνιος		*IG* II² 1043 III 111	38/7	CL
45. Σαλαμείνιος		*IG* II² 1043 III 113	38/7	CL
46. ἐ]μεσείτευσαν		*IG* II² 1051 (c) 17	After 38/7	CL
47. [Ἀφρ]οδείσιος	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 1961,55	After 37/6 (*SEG* 22,113)	—

48. ['Αφρ]οδεί[σιος	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 1961,65	After 37/6 (*SEG* 22,113)	—
49. Σειλανόν		*IG* II² 4114,6	34/3	CL
50. ὁπλείτας		*IG* II² 1059,11	Ca. 40/30 (*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,173,105)	Inscr. exam.
51. [Κ]ηφεισι[εύς]		*Hesp.* 15,217,45,7	Ca. 30	Ph.
52. Εἰσιδώ[ρ]ου		*AJP* 31,382,15,2	Hellenistic	Comm.
53. Κηφεισιεύς	(2)	*SEG* 21,639,12	Hellenistic(?)	CL
54. Διοτείμου		*IG* II² 4465,1	Ca. 26/5	CL
55. 'Επίνεικος		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,178,110,47	Ca. 29/1	Ph.
56. 'Επινείκου		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,178,110,53	Ca. 29/1	Ph.
57. Δειφίλου		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,23	Ca. 20	Ph.
58. Φιλεῖνος		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,29	Ca. 20	Ph.
59. Νείκων		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,35	Ca. 20	Ph.
60. 'Ελπίνεικος		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,36	Ca. 20	Ph.
61. Νείκωνος		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,56	Ca. 20	Ph.
62. Κεινέου		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,64	Ca. 20	Ph.
63. ὁπλείτας		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,78	Ca. 20	Ph.
64. Τειμάρχου		*IG* II² 2338,13	27/17	CL
65. Κηφεισιεύς		*IG* II² 2338,16	27/17	CL
66. 'Αφροδείσιος		*IG* II² 2338,30	27/17	CL
67. Βερενεικ[ίδης]		*IG* II² 2338,34	27/17	CL
68. Τειμ[		*IG* II² 2338,39	27/17	CL
69. Θρειάσιος		*IG* II² 2338,56	27/17	CL
70. Θρειάσιος		*IG* II² 2338,57	27/17	CL
71. Τειμόθεος		*IG* II² 2338,61	27/17	CL
72. ὁπλ̣είτας		*SEG* 17,71,3	Ca. 15	Ph.
73. Κηφεισιεύς	(2)	*IG* II² 1722,9	After 9/8	CL
74. νεικήσας		*IG* II² 2997,2	Soon after 8/7	CL
75. ὁ̣π̣λ̣ε[ί]τας	(2)	*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 2	Ca. 10/02	Inscr. exam.
76. τειμάς		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 7	Ca. 10/02	Inscr. exam.
77. ὁπλείτας		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 12	Ca. 10/02	Inscr. exam.
78. Νεικίας		*Hesp.* 13,261,14,1	1st c.	Ph.
79. Κηφεισιε[ῖς]		*Hesp.* 37,287,25,2	1st c.	Ph.

80. Νεικομήδ[ης]		*IG* II² 4711,1	1st c.	CL
81. Ἀφροδεῖτης		*IG* II² 4994,2	1st c.	CL
82. [Ἀρ]τεμεισί[α]		*IG* II² 6870,1	1st c.	CL
83. Ἀλεξανδρεῖτις		*IG* II² 8002,3	1st c.	CL
84. Ἀμφιπολεῖτις		*IG* II² 8083,3	1st c.	CL
85. Νεικαία		*IG* II² 8249,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
86. Ἱεροπολεῖτις		*IG* II² 8933,3	1st c.	CL
87. [Μ]ειλησία		*IG* II² 9480,3	1st c.	CL
88. Μειλησία		*IG* II² 9538,3	1st c.	CL
89. Νεικασίωνος		*IG* II² 9680,2	1st c.	CL
90. Μειλήσιος		*IG* II² 9680,3	1st c.	CL
91. Εἰσίδοτος	(5)	*IG* II² 10124,5	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
92. E[ἰ]σίδωρος	(2) (5)	*IG* II² 11741,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
93. [Φι]λοτείμου		*SEG* 14,180,2	1st c.	Ph.
94. τ̣ε̣[ι]μάτω	(2)	*SEG* 21,494,32	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
95. ἐπ̣[ι]τειμ̣[ίοις		*SEG* 21,494,41	1st c.	Ph.
96. τει[μῶσα		*SEG* 21,495,3	1st c.	Ph.
97. ὁπλεῖτας		*IG* II² 3500,4	Late 1st c.	CL
98. ὁπλεῖτας		*IG* II² 3504,7	Late 1st c.	Comm.
99. Βερ]ενεικίδου		*IG* II² 3513,1	Late 1st c.	CL
100. ⟨Αφ⟩ροδείσιος	(2)	*IG* II² 4879,2	Late 1st c. (*SEG* 23,129)	CL
101. Εἰσιάς	(3)	*IG* II² 5540,1	Late 1st c.	—
102. Κηφεισόδοτος	(2)	*IG* II² 7094,4	Late 1st c.	CL
103. Μειλησία		*IG* II² 9701,3	Late 1st c.	CL
104. Εἰσιδώρα	(5)	*IG* II² 10128,1	Late 1st c.	CL
105. Σαλαμείνιος		*IG* II² 10175,3	Late 1st c.	CL
106. γείνων[ται]		*SEG* 21,497,24	Late 1st c.	Ph.

92. There is one empty space after E.

3. *Norm*: ⟨I⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /i/.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. οἰκείαν		IG II² 886,7	193/2 (*SEG* 16,78)	CL
2. Χαρείτ[ων		*IG* II² 987,3	After 150	Comm.
3. Λακρατείδης		*IG* II² 4701,5	Early 1st c.	CL
4. Καλουεισίαν	(5)	*IG* II² 4111,3	Ca. 45	Ph.
5. Καλουεισίου	(5)	*IG* II² 4111,4	Ca. 45	Ph.
6. Λαμείδιον		*IG* II² 11943	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

4. *Norm*: ⟨IEI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ie:/.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. Ὑγεία		*IG* II² 4457,6	After 150	CL
2. Ὑγεία[ς]		*IG* II² 4465,6	Ca. 26/5	CL
3. Ὑγε[ί]α̣ι	(2)	*IG* II² 3174,2	12/1	Inscr. exam.

5. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨EII⟩.

1.	ειlς		*IG* II² 956,24	161/0	Comm.

6. Norm: ⟨I⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /i:/.
Var.: ⟨EIII⟩.

1.	'Αφροδειιισίου	(2)	*IG* II² 8131,2	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.

1. The *epsilon* seems to have been added between Δ and I. The following two vertical strokes were perhaps also intended to be a correction.

7. Norm: ⟨E⟩.
Var.: ⟨I⟩.

1.	'Ερικιεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1009 I 94	116/5	CL
2.	Ιλάας	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,21	Late 2nd c.	CL
3.	καθισταμένος	(2) (6)	*IG* II² 1013,47	Late 2nd c.	CL

8. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1.	Τεμοκλέ[ους		*IG* II² 2458,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.

9. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1.	Ιερέας	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1328,33	Ca. 175/4	CL
2.	πρυτάνες		*SEG* 12,101,16	135/4	Ph.
3.	ἐς	(2)	*IG* II² 1228,4	116/5	CL
4.	Συνήθεα		*IG* II² 9027,1	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
5.	Εὐδάμεα		*IG* II² 10034,1	2nd c.	CL
6.	Πειραιεῖ	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,40	Late 2nd c.	CL
7.	κέμε[να	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,56	Late 2nd c.	CL
8.	Εὐγένεα	(Ass)	*IG* II² 10501,1	2nd/1st c.	CL
9.	Ιέρεα	(Ass)	*IG* II² 11392,2	2nd/1st c.	CL
10.	ἐ⟨ς⟩ στήλη⟨ν⟩	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 15	Ca. 41/0	CL
11.	'Αχαδήμεα		*IG* II² 8558,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
12.	Γ⟨λ⟩υκέα	(3) (6)	*IG* II² 8608,1	1st c.	—

12. May be = Γλυκέρα.

10. Norm: ⟨E⟩.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1.	Ἡρακλειώτης	(2)	*IG* II² 4280	Late 3rd/early 2nd c.	CL
2.	Ἱεροκλέιους	(3)	*IG* II² 4931,2	Early 2nd c.	—
3.	Ἡρακλειῶτις		*IG* II² 8802,1	Early 2nd c.	CL
4.	ἱερέια		*SEG* 18,22,26	165/4	Ph.
5.	ἑιαυτούς		*IG* II² 999,3	Ca. 150	Comm.
6.	Ἡρακλειῶτις		*IG* II² 8808,2	2nd c.	CL
7.	ἑικατόν	(2)	*IG* II¹ 476,33	Late 2nd c. (*IG* II² 1013)	CL
8.	ἑιατῶν		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,166,98,21	Soon before 60	Ph.
9.	Ἐρειχθεῖδος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1048,2	47/2	Comm.
10.	Λαοδικέιως	(2)	*IG* II² 8587,5	1st c.	CL
11.	Ἡρακλειῶτις		*SEG* 21,952,3	1st c.	Ph.

11. Norm: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1.	Διοπείθεν		*IG* II² 2946,2	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.
2.	Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	(Ass)	*SEG* 21,463,9	Ca. 150	Ph.
3.	Νικομεδηύς		*IG* II² 10015,2	2nd c.	Comm.
4.	Μειλεσία		*SEG* 2,38,2	2nd c.	Comm.
5.	με[κ]έτι	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,11	Late 2nd c.	CL
6.	πέχεως	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,36	Late 2nd c.	CL
7.	θετων[εῖν]	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,54	Late 2nd c.	CL
8.	ἐφέβοις	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 13	Ca. 41/0	CL

12. Norm: ⟨E⟩.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1.	Θη⟨ο⟩δωρίδ[ης]		*IG* II¹ 444 II 76	161/0 (*IG* II² 956)	Inscr. exam.
2.	Ἐκαλῆθην	(Ass)	*SEG* 15,104,185	127/6	Inscr. exam.
3.	Πολήμων		*IG* II² 6613,1	2nd c.	Comm.
4.	Πολημάχου		*IG* II² 6613,2	2nd c.	Comm.
5.	ἀνέθηκην	(Ass)	*IG* II² 4926a	2nd c.	Comm.
6.	Ἡρακληώτισσα		*IG* II² 8595,3	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
7.	δ τη ἱεροφάν⟨τη⟩ς	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,48	Late 2nd c.	CL
8.	ἦσπο	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,58	Late 2nd c.	CL
9.	Τειμοκλήους		*Hesp.* 16,172,68,3	Ca. 100	Ph.

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8. – ἔστω.

10.	Ἡρακληώτης		*IG* II² 8690,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
11.	παρατυγχάνοντης	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (c) 8	Ca. 41/0	CL
12.	Ἀθμονήως		*IG* II² 5354,3	1st c.	Comm.
13.	Μνασήου	(6)	*IG* II² 1964,4	Late 1st c.	Inscr. exam.
14.	Δηλφίς		*IG* II² 11052	Late 1st c.	Comm.

13. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1.	θεραπήας		*IG* II² 1329,8	175/4	Inscr. exam.
2.	ἱερήαις		*IG* II² 1329,16	175/4	Inscr. exam.
3.	εὐσεβήας		*IG* II² 1329,25	175/4	Inscr. exam.
4.	ἔχη	(2)	*IG* II² 1228,14	116/5	CL
5.	καθῆλκον	(6)	*IG* II² 1011,20	106/5	CL
6.	Εἰσιγένηα		*IG* II² 10371,1	2nd c.	CL
7.	Ἀργήα		*IG* II² 8361a,4	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
8.	Ἀρήο[υ		*SEG* 24,147,11	Late 2nd c.	Ph.
9.	ἀσφάληαν	(3)	*IG* II² 1055,20	Ca. 100	—
10.	Π[αι]δήα	(2)	*Ath. Mitt.* 7,391	2nd/1st c.	FS
11.	ἠργασμένων	(6)	*IG* II² 1036,12	Ca. 78/7	CL
12.	Αἰ]νήου		*IG* II² 2461,54	Ca. 50	CL
13.	Αἰνήου		*IG* II² 2461,55	Ca. 50	CL
14.	μαντ]ήαν	(2)	*IG* II² 1935,6	After 50	CL
15.	πρυτανήαν		*Hesp.* 12,56,14,22	Ca. 50/40	Ph.
16.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 4113,1	42/0	CL
17.	πρεσβήαν		*IG* II² 1051 (c) 21	After 38/7	CL
18.	πρυτα]νήας		*SEG* 24,141,3	After 38/7	Ph.
19.	ἀσεβήα		*SEG* 23,77,6	37 or soon after	Ph.
20.	ἐπιτήδηον	(Ass)	*SEG* 23,77,16	37 or soon after	Ph.
21.	ἠστίασεν	(6)	*IG* II² 1343,26	Ca. 37/6	CL
22.	ἱέρηα		*Arch. Eph.* 1896,48,45,1	Hellenistic (?)	CL
23.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 3173,5	After 27/6	Ph.
24.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 1718,9	37/17	Ph.
25.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 1718,14	37/17	Ph.
26.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 1721,14	14/3	Ph.
27.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 4128,2	Ca. 9	CL
28.	[Π]υθαῆα		*Hesp.* 15,222,51,20	1st c.	Comm.
29.	[Λεβ]αδήα		*Hesp.* 15,222,51,28	1st c.	Comm.
30.	[Κο]πρήου		*IG* II² 6537/8,3	1st c.	FS
31.	Φιλόκληα		*IG* II² 8988,1	1st c.	CL
32.	Ἀρήου		*IG* II² 3500,2	Late 1st c.	Comm.
33.	Ἀρήου	(2)	*IG* II² 3501,2	Late 1st c.	CL
34.	Ἠλῆος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8529,2	Late 1st c.	CL

14. Norm: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. ἐπιμελειτειῶν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1338,30	After 86	CL
2. ἐπ]ιχωρεῖσαι	(2)	*IG* II¹ 478 (d) 14	Ca. 41/0 (*IG* II² 1042)	CL

15. Norm: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨I⟩.

1. Διοσκουρίδις	(Ass)	*IG* II² 11196,1	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
2. [K]έβις		*SEG* 17,99	2nd c.	Comm.
3. ἱ ἐλάας	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,26	Late 2nd c.	CL
4. Ἡρακλεώτις		*IG* II² 8553,3	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
5. Ἡρακλεώτι[ς]	(2)	*IG* II² 4466,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
6. Ἡραι⟨κ⟩λε⟨ώ⟩τις		*IG* II² 8703,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

16. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1. λῃθίνην	(2)	*IG* II² 963,5	Ca. 140	CL
2. εὐπορηκή	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,29	Late 2nd c.	CL
3. Προσπάλ⟨τ⟩ηος		*IG* II² 7316,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
4. Ἡρακλεῶτης		*IG* II² 8548a,3	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
5. ὀργιαστής	(2)	*IG* II² 3508,2	Late 1st c.	CL

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1. ΑΚΟΙΝΗΝ ed.
2. = ἐμπορική. ΕΥΠΟΡΗΚΗ ed.

17. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨IH⟩.

1. Θησιήο[ις	*IG* II² 1043,22	38/7	Inscr. exam.
2. Ἀντωνιήοις	*IG* II² 1043,22	38/7	Inscr. exam.

18. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨EH⟩.

1. Παιανεηεύς	(2)	*SEG* 3,243,2	1st c.	Comm.

19. Norm: ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ɛ:i/.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1. δοχῆ		*IG* II² 907,13	Before 200 (?) (*SEG* 24,138)	CL

2. ἢ		*IG* II² 1329,20	175/4	Inscr. exam.
3. τῆ		*IG* II² 1329,26	175/4	Inscr. exam.
4. ἔλθη		*IG* II² 1330,49	After 163	CL
5. ἀ[π]ολαμβάνη		*IG* II² 1330,55	After 163	CL
6. ὑπάρχη		*IG* II² 983,8	Ca. 150	CL
7. [ἐ]νδεκάτη		*IG* II² 973,5	After 150	Inscr. exam.
8. κοινῆ		*IG* II² 971,18	140/39	Inscr. exam.
9. ὑπάρχη		*IG* II² 1331 (p. 673) 7	Ca. 130	Inscr. exam.
10. ἢ		*SEG* 15,104,1	127/6	Ph.
11. πέμπτ]η ἱσταμένου		*SEG* 15,104,2	127/6	Ph.
12. πέμπτη		*SEG* 15,104,3	127/6	Ph.
13. τετάρτη		*SEG* 15,104,79	127/6	Ph.
14. ε[ἰ]κοστῆ		*SEG* 15,104,79	127/6	Ph.
15. ἀγαθῆ		*SEG* 15,104,92	127/6	Ph.
16. τύχη		*SEG* 15,104,92	127/6	Ph.
17. ἢ	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 1005,2	122/1	—
18. ἢ		*IG* II² 1006,2	122/1	CL
19. ἐνάτη		*IG* II² 1006,4	122/1	CL
20. τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι		*IG* II² 1006,8	122/1	CL
21. τῆ Ἀγροτέραι		*IG* II² 1006,8	122/1	CL
22. Νίκη		*IG* II² 1006,14	122/1	CL
23. ἐπηνέθησαν		*IG* II² 1006,31	122/1	CL
24. τῆ		*IG* II² 1006,58	122/1	CL
25. ἐπηνέθη		*IG* II² 1006,67	122/1	CL
26. χαλ]κῆ		*IG* II² 1006,86/7	122/1	CL
27. βουλῆ		*IG* II² 1006,90	122/1	CL
28. δοκῆ		*IG* II² 1006,96	122/1	CL
29. δεκάτη		*IG* II² 1008,2	119/8	CL
30. ἢ		*IG* II² 1008,49	119/8	CL
31. ἐνάτη		*IG* II² 1008,50	119/8	CL
32. [ἐ]νάτη ⟨τῆ⟩ς	(6) (7)	*IG* II² 1008,50	119/8	CL
33. ἢ		*IG* II² 1008,64	119/8	CL
34. τῆ		*IG* II² 1008,77	119/8	CL
35. ὑπάρχη		*IG* II² 1008,78	119/8	CL
36. β[ου]λῆ		*IG* II² 1008,80	119/8	CL
37. ἐνάτη		Peek 2,3,3	119/8	Ph.
38. ἢ	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,3	112/1	CL
39. ὀγδόη	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,5	112/1	CL
40. ὀγδόη τῆς	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,5	112/1	CL
41. τῆ	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,25	112/1	CL
42. ἢ		*IG* II² 1014,2	109/8	CL
43. ἕκτη		*IG* II² 1014,4	109/8	CL
44. ἀγαθῆ		*IG* II² 1011,2	106/5	CL
45. τύχη		*IG* II² 1011,2	106/5	CL
46. ἢ		*IG* II² 1011,2	106/5	CL
47. τετάρτη		*IG* II² 1011,3	106/5	CL

48. δεκάτη τ̣ῆς	(2)	*IG* II² 1011,3	106/5	CL
49. τῇ Ἀρτέμ[ιδ]ι		*IG* II² 1011,7	106/5	CL
50. τῇ Ἀγροτέρ[αι]		*IG* II² 1011,7	106/5	CL
51. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,8	106/5	CL
52. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,22	106/5	CL
53. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,22	106/5	CL
54. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
55. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
56. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
57. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
58. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,24	106/5	CL
59. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,24	106/5	CL
60. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,31	106/5	CL
61. ἕ̣		*IG* II² 1011,31	106/5	CL
62. ἕκτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,32	106/5	CL
63. πέμπτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,32	106/5	CL
64. δεκάτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,32	106/5	CL
65. ἕ̣		*IG* II² 1011,45	106/5	CL
66. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 1011,45	106/5	CL
67. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,45	106/5	CL
68. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,45	106/5	CL
69. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,45	106/5	CL
70. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,46	106/5	CL
71. ὑπάρχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,55	106/5	CL
72. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 1011,56	106/5	CL
73. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,56	106/5	CL
74. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,56	106/5	CL
75. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,56	106/5	CL
76. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,57	106/5	CL
77. βουλῇ		*IG* II² 1011,57	106/5	CL
78. ἀγαθ̣ῇ		*IG* II² 1011,63	106/5	CL
79. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,63	106/5	CL
80. ἕ̣		*IG* II² 1011,64	106/5	CL
81. ἑνδεκάτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,64	106/5	CL
82. ἑνδεκάτῃ τῆς		*IG* II² 1011,64	106/5	CL
83. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
84. ἀγαθ̣ῇ		*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
85. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
86. δοκῇ		*IG* II² 1011,72	106/5	CL
87. [ἀγα]θῇ		*IG* II² 1011,73	106/5	CL
88. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,73	106/5	CL
89. ἕ̣		*IG* II² 1011,73	106/5	CL
90. ἕκτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,73	106/5	CL
91. ἕκτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,74	106/5	CL
92. δεκάτῃ		*IG* II² 1011,74	106/5	CL
93. τῇ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
94. πομπῇ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
95. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
96. τύχῃ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL

97.	δοκῆ		*IG* II² 1011,82	106/5	CL
98.	ἀγαθ]ῆ		*SEG* 18,27,21	2nd c.	Ph.
99.	[λιθί]νη		*SEG* 18,27,31/2	2nd c.	Ph.
100.	διαμένη	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,37	Late 2nd c.	CL
101.	ἦ		*IG* II² 1015,2	Late 2nd c.	CL
102.	δοκῆ		*IG* II² 1023,26	Late 2nd c.	Comm.
103.	στήλη	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1054,30	Ca. 100	CL
104.	λιθίνη		*IG* II² 1054,30	Ca. 100	CL
105.	ἦ		*IG* II² 1028,1	100/99	Inscr. exam.
106.	ἐνάτη		*IG* II² 1028,2	100/99	Inscr. exam.
107.	ἦ		*IG* II² 1028,66	100/99	Inscr. exam.
108.	ἐνάτη		*IG* II² 1028,67	100/99	Inscr. exam.
109.	δοκῆ		*IG* II² 1028,103	100/99	Inscr. exam.
110.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1038,5	Early 1st c.	CL
111.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1029,6	94/3	CL
112.	τῆ		*Hesp.* 17,29,13,4	Ca. 80	Ph.
113.	ἕκτη		*SEG* 22,110,2	79/8	Ph.
114.	Ἑρμῆ		*IG* II² 2992,6	60/59	CL
115.	Ἑρμῆ		*IG* II² 2993,4	55/4	CL
116.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1046,1	52/1	CL
117.	ἦ		*IG* II² 1046,3	52/1	CL
118.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1046,7	52/1	CL
119.	βουλῆ		*IG* II² 1046,7	52/1	CL
120.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1046,19	52/1	CL
121.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1046,19	52/1	CL
122.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1050,7	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.
123.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1341,11	Ca. 50	CL
124.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1341,13	Ca. 50	CL
125.	ἑβδόμη		*IG* II² 1341,14	Ca. 50	CL
126.	Κόρη		*IG* II² 3490,6	Ca. 50	CL
127.	ἀγαθ]ῆ		*IG* II² 1048,13/4	47/2	CL
128.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1048,14	47/2	CL
129.	τύχη		*Hesp.* 12,56,14,17	Ca. 50/40	Ph.
130.	ἀγαθῆ		*Hesp.* 12,56,14,17	Ca. 50/40	Ph.
131.	ἀγαθῆ		*IG* II² 1042 (a/b) 5	Ca. 41/0	CL
132.	ἀγαθῆ		*IG* II² 1043,2	38/7	CL
133.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1043,23	38/7	CL
134.	ἑπταικαιδεκάτη		*IG* II² 1043,23	38/7	CL
135.	τῆ τε		*IG* II² 1043,31	38/7	CL
136.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1043,31	38/7	CL
137.	πομπῆ		*IG* II² 1043,31	38/7	CL
138.	ἀγαθῆ		*IG* II² 1043,36	38/7	CL
139.	τύχη		*IG* II² 1043,36	38/7	CL
140.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1043,36	38/7	CL
141.	βουλῆ		*IG* II² 1043,36	38/7	CL
142.	ἀνασ]τροφῆ		*IG* II² 1043,58	38/7	CL
143.	τῆ		*IG* II² 1043,63	38/7	CL
144.	ἀρετῆ		*IG* II² 1043,63	38/7	CL

145. τῇ		*IG* II² 1043,68	38/7	CL
146. τύχη		*IG* II² 1043,69	38/7	CL
147. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 1043,69	38/7	CL
148. ῇ		*IG* II² 1043,69	38/7	CL
149. κοσμητῇ	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1043,70	38/7	CL
150. Μυρίνη		*IG* II² 1051 (a) 10	After 38/7	CL
151. Μυρ]ίνη		*SEG* 24,141,7	After 38/7	Ph.
152. τῇ		*SEG* 23,77,6	37 or soon after	Ph.
153. πράξη		*SEG* 23,77,8	37 or soon after	Ph.
154. τῇ		*SEG* 23,77,15	37 or soon after	Ph.
155. τῇ		*SEG* 23,77,17	37 or soon after	Ph.
156. βουλῇ		*SEG* 23,77,17	37 or soon after	Ph.
157. λε[λευκω]μένῃ		*SEG* 23,77,17	37 or soon after	Ph.
158. ἕκτῃ		*IG* II² 1343,7	Ca. 37/6	CL
159. τῇ		*IG* II² 1343,10	Ca. 37/6	CL
160. τύχη		*IG* II² 1343,32	Ca. 37/6	CL
161. ῇ		*IG* II² 1343,34	Ca. 37/6	CL
162. τῇ		*SEG* 17,46,5	21/0	Ph.
163. βουλῇ		*SEG* 17,46,5	21/0	Ph.
164. τύχη		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,13	Ca. 20	Ph.
165. ἀγαθῇ		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,13	Ca. 20	Ph.
166. βουλῇ		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,13	Ca. 20	Ph.
167. τῇ		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,14	Ca. 20	Ph.
168. ἀγαθῇ		*IG* II² 2338,1	27/17	CL
169. τύχη		*IG* II² 2338,1	27/17	CL
170. Δωδώνη		*Hesp.* 15,222,51,6	1st c.	Ph.
171. Κόρη		*IG* II² 3499,5	1st c.	CL
172. τῇ		*IG* II² 4707,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
173. Κόρη		*IG* II² 4708	1st c.	CL
174. πο[ι]ῇ		*SEG* 21,494,41	1st c.	Ph.
175. τῇ		*SEG* 21,495,9	1st c.	Ph.
176. Κόρη		*IG* II² 3513,11	Late 1st c.	CL
177. Κόρη		*IG* II² 3513,15	Late 1st c.	CL
178. Ἰατρίνη		*IG* II² 4714,3	Late 1st c.	Ph.
179. Ἀφροδίτη		*IG* II² 4714,3	Late 1st c.	Ph.
180. τῇ		*SEG* 21,497,15	Late 1st c.	Ph.
181. βουλῇ		*SEG* 21,497,15	Late 1st c.	Ph.

20. Norm: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨HI⟩.

1. Βοήιθου	*IG* II² 6078,2	2nd c.	Comm.
2. ἡ βουλήι	*IG* II² 1046,31	52/1	CL

3. Ἀθήι[ναις		*IG* II² 1063,13	After 48/7	Inscr. exam.
4. Ἀθήιναις		*IG* II² 1063,16	After 48/7	Inscr. exam.
5. Ἑλένηι		*IG* II² 9538,1	1st c.	CL
6. Ἀχτήι		*SEG* 19,251,1	1st c.	Ph.

21. Norm: ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ɛ:i/.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. ἐν ἔ	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 963,5	Ca. 140	CL
2. ἐν τε̃ σ[κιάδι	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,45	Late 2nd c.	CL
3. τε̃ Δήμητρι	(6) (7)	*IG* II² 1029,17	94/3	CL

3. Perhaps haplography for τῆι τε.

22. Norm: ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ɛ:i/.
Var.: ⟨I⟩.

1. Βρισί[ς]	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 10982	Before 31 (Mhs 38, n. 210)	CL

23. Norm: ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ɛ:i/.
Var.: ⟨IH⟩.

1. Ἰη		*Hesp.* 16,164,64,1	161/0	Ph.

24. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨HI⟩.

1. ἐπιμέληιαν		*IG* II² 957,5	Ca. 158/7	Comm.
2. Σωτήιραι	(6)	*IG* II² 2869,4	100/99	CL
3. Διοκλῆι		*IG* II² 1046,19	52/1	CL

2. Perhaps written for η; marked (6).

25. Norm: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /a:i/.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1. ⟨ἐν Ἀπολ⟩λωνία	(2)	*IG* II² 3147,5	Early 2nd c.	CL
2. Ὑγεία		*IG* II² 4457,6	After 150	CL
3. νέ]ᾳ	(2)	*SEG* 22,108,79	127/6	Comm.
4. θυσία		*IG* II² 1006,79	122/1	CL
5. ἀγορᾶ		*IG* II² 1008,73	119/8	CL

6.	ἐπιδημία		*IG* II² 1008,77	119/8	CL
7.	[σωτηρ]ία		*IG* II² 1011,68	106/5	CL
8.	B]ουλαία		*Hesp.* 40,96,1,2	2nd c.	Ph.
9.	Φιλάδου		*Arch. Eph.* 1971,129,25,2	Ca. 100	Ph.
10.	Θρᾶξ		*IG* II² 8902,2	2nd/1st c.	FS
11.	Θρᾶξ		*IG* II² 8924,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
12.	Θρᾶκες		*SEG* 19,125,4	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
13.	Ἀγροτέρα		*IG* II² 1028,8	100/99	Inscr. exam.
14.	Φ]ιλάδης		*IG* II² 2336,237	102/96 (*SEG* 24,195)	CL
15.	δημοσί]α ⟨σ⟩φραγῖδι		*IG* II² 1037,7	Early 1st c.	Comm.
16.	ἀγορᾶ		*IG* II² 1029,37	94/3	CL
17.	Λυκία	(2)	*IG* II² 3218,20	Ca. 79	CL
18.	Ὑγιεία		*IG* II² 1046,26	52/1	CL
19.	Ὑγιεία		*IG* II² 1046,30	52/1	CL
20.	ὑ]γιεία		*IG* II² 1042 (a/b) 6	Ca. 41/0	CL
21.	σωτηρία		*IG* II² 1042 (a/b) 6	Ca. 41/0	CL
22.	ὑγι]εία		*IG* II² 1043,11	38/7	Inscr. exam.
23.	σωτηρία		*IG* II² 1043,11	38/7	Inscr. exam.
24.	φιλοτιμία		*IG* II² 1343,35	Ca. 37/6	CL
25.	πρ]υτανεία		*SEG* 17,46,6	21/0	Ph.
26.	εὐσε[βεί]α		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,14	Ca. 20	Ph.
27.	Φιλάδης		*IG* II² 1963,23	13/2	Ph.
28.	Φιλά[δ]ης	(2)	*IG* II² 1963,26	13/2	Ph.
29.	[Φι]λάδης		*IG* II² 1963,29	13/2	Ph.
30.	Φ[ιλ]άδης		*IG* II² 1963,30	13/2	Ph.
31.	[Λεβ]αδήα		*Hesp.* 15,222,51,28	1st c.	Ph.
32.	Θρᾶττα	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8903,3	1st c.	Comm.
33.	Θρᾶττα	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8908a,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
34.	δαδουχήσαντα		*IG* II² 3507,2	Late 1st c.	CL
35.	δαδουχήσαντα	(2)	*IG* II² 3508,4	Late 1st c.	CL

26. Norm: ⟨A⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /a:/.
Var.: ⟨AI⟩.

1.	πᾶισι		*IG* II² 971,14	140/39	Comm.
2.	ἐκκλησίαι		*SEG* 15,104,106	127/6	Ph.
3.	[ἀγο]ράι		*SEG* 21,535,4	112/1	Ph.
4.	Κορινθίαι		*IG* II² 9067,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
5.	γυμνασίαις		*IG* II² 1043,21	38/7	Inscr. exam.
6.	φιλοπονίαις		*IG* II² 1043,44	38/7	Inscr. exam.

7.	Καρυστίαι		*IG* II² 8984,3	1st c.	Comm.
8.	Σύραι		*IG* II² 9248,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

27. *Norm*: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ai/.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1.	Φηγαέω[ς		*Hesp.* 15,220,47	Ca. 200	Ph.
2.	Π[ει]ραεύς		*IG* II² 7191,3	3rd/2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
3.	Φηγαέως		*IG* II² 7634,3	3rd/2nd c.	CL
4.	Ἀγεῖδος		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,109,53,12	186/5(?)	Ph.
5.	μερίσα | [τόν		*Hesp.* 9,122,25,15	165/50	Ph.
6.	πολλᾶς		*SEG* 21,469,5	129/8	Inscr. exam.
7.	Ἀξ⟨ω⟩νέω⟨ς⟩		*IG* II² 5406,3	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
8.	Ἀλαεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 5489,3	2nd c.	CL
9.	Πειραεῖ		*Hesp.* 3,36,24,12	Late 2nd c.	Ph.
10.	ἀṭ|[οῦνται	(2)	*IG* II² 1041,7	45/4(?) (*SEG* 17,33)	Inscr. exam.
11.	κἀ τόν	(2)	*IG* II¹ 478 (d) 12	Ca. 41/0 (*IG* II² 1042)	CL
12.	κἀ τοῖς	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (c) 4	Ca. 41/0	CL
13.	θυσίας	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (c) 12	Ca. 41/0	CL
14.	Ἀλαεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 2338,63	27/17	CL
15.	Μελιταέως		*IG* II² 9333,3	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
16.	Ἀξωνέως	(2) (3)	*SEG* 3,162,5	Prob. 1st c.	—

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10. The graph following the *alpha* is certainly not an *iota* or an *upsilon*; it is most like a *gamma*.

28. *Norm*: ⟨A⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /a/.
Var.: ⟨AI⟩.

1.	Σωφάινης		*SEG* 15,104,168	127/6	Ph.
2.	Ἐκαιταῖος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 10512,1	2nd c.	Comm.
3.	Ἡραι⟨κ⟩λε⟨ώ⟩της		*IG* II² 8703,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

29. *Norm*: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨AI⟩.

1.	ταῖς	(2) (7)	*IG* II² 1168,10	3rd c.(?)	CL

30. *Norm*: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ai/.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1.	κὲ πα[ρ]α[δῶσιν	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,53	Late 2nd c.	CL

31. Norm: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ai/.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. Ξυπετειών	(2)	*IG* II² 6933,3	1st c.	Comm.

1. ΤΣΙΩΝ lap.

32. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨AI⟩.

1. Ἄξιατος	(6)	*IG* II² 5588,1	2nd c.	Comm. (*IG* II¹)

33. Norm: ⟨AIE⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /aie/.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. Κυδαθηνέος		*SEG* 3,178,2	Prob. 1st c.	Inscr. exam.

34. Norm: ⟨EIAI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:ai/.
Var.: ⟨EI⟩.

1. στρατείς	(6)	*SEG* 21,469,5	129/8	Inscr. exam.

35. Norm: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ai/.
Var.: ⟨AII⟩.

1. παιΐδας		*IG* II² 956 I 80	161/0	Comm.
2. Θηραιΐος		*IG* II² 8894,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.

36. Norm: ⟨H⟩.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1. τάν		*IG* II² 1008,76	119/8	Comm.
2. πανάγυριν	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,49	Late 2nd c.	CL

37. Norm: ⟨A⟩.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1. τής	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,13	3rd c.(?)	CL
2. κάλλιστη	(2)	*IG* II² 1242,2	3rd c.(?)	CL
3. νηῶι	(2) (6)	*IG* II² 1045,15	Before 50	CL

38. Norm: ⟨A⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. πειθαρχοῦντες	(7)	*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
2. ἐμφισβητήσαντος	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,3	Late 2nd c.	CL
3. ἐπο[θήκαις]	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,9	Late 2nd c.	CL
4. πέντα	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,10	Late 2nd c.	CL

39. Norm: ⟨E⟩.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1. ἐθαρά[πευσαν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1006,35	122/1	CL

40. Norm: ⟨Υ⟩.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1. γανή		*IG* II² 5354,4	1st c.	Comm.

41. Norm: ⟨Υ⟩.
Var.: ⟨I⟩.

1. Ἀμ{ν}ίντου	(2)	*IG* II² 2315,26	After 180	CL
2. Εὐτιχίς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8661,1	2nd c.	Comm.
3. Μιτυληναία	(Met)	*IG* II² 9968,3	2nd c.	CL
4. Μιτυληναῖος	(Met)	*IG* II² 9971,2	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
5. Ἰθικλῆς	(Ass)	*SEG* 19,266,1	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
6. Διονισ⟨ι⟩ων	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 8	Ca. 41/0	CL
7. Μιτυλην[αία]	(Met)	*IG* II² 9966,2	1st c.	Comm.

42. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨Υ⟩.

1. Εὐρυπύδης	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 2442,4	After 200	CL
2. κέλητυ	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,50	Ca. 166/5	CL
3. τὰς ὐσχάδας	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,24	Late 2nd c.	CL
4. δυπλασίονι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,24	Late 2nd c.	CL
5. Μιτυληναία	(Met)	*IG* II² 9968,3	2nd c.	CL
6. Μιτυληναῖος	(Met)	*IG* II² 9971,2	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
7. Μιτυλην[αία]	(Met)	*IG* II² 9966,2	1st c.	Comm.

43. Norm: ⟨I⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΥΙ⟩.

1. Διοσκουρυί⟨δ⟩ου	(2)	*IG* II² 2315,28	After 180	CL

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1. Perhaps the *iota* is a correction and the *delta* was omitted, or the *iota* is an unfinished *delta*; marked (2).

44. Norm: ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨ΕΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Υ⟩.

1. γεγονυῶν		*Hesp.* 44,207 A/C 11	Ca. 10/02	Ph.

45. Norm: ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨ΕΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ε⟩.

1. γεγενεῶν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1328,17	Ca. 183/2	CL

46. Norm: ⟨Η⟩.
Var.: ⟨Υ⟩.

1. μύ	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,6	Late 2nd c.	CL
2. ἱεροφάνευς	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,48	Late 2nd c.	CL

2. = ἱεροφάντης.

47. Norm: ⟨ΟΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ο⟩.

1. μέτρος	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,66	Late 2nd c.	CL
2. τοῖς θεδς		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,7	Ca. 20	Ph.

48. Norm: ⟨Ο⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΟΙ⟩.

1. **Οἰῆθεν**	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 2982,5	127/6	—
2. **Βοιηδρομιῶνος**		*IG* II² 1006,3	122/1	CL
3. **Τροιζήνιος**		*IG* II² 10463,3	2nd c.	CL
4. **Ἀποιλλώνιος**		*IG* II² 7890,1	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
5. **Εὐνόιη**		*IG* II² 7900,1	2nd/1st c.	CL
6. **Οἰῆθεν**		*IG* II² 1051 (c) 20	After 38/7	CL
7. **Τροιζήνιος**		*IG* II² 10462,3	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

3 and 7. Τροζην- is the norm.

49. Norm: ⟨ΟΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΕΙ⟩.

1. λοιπεῖς		*IG* II² 1028,12	100/99	Inscr. exam.

50. Norm: ⟨OI⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. πεήσασθαι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,11	Late 2nd c.	CL

1. Γ ed. Perhaps written for O.

51. Norm: ⟨AI⟩.
Var.: ⟨OI⟩.

1. συντε]λῆτοι	(2)	*IG* II² 1242,1/2	3rd c.(?)	CL

52. Norm: ⟨EΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. Ἐρ]ικές	(2)	*IG* II² 1008 I 100	119/8	Inscr. exam.
2. Ἐωνυμεύς		*IG* II² 6165,3	2nd c.	Comm.
3. Ἐωνυμέως	(3)	*IG* II² 6191,3	2nd c.	Comm.
4. Σελεχεύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 10251,2	2nd c.	Comm.
5. Ἐφραῖος	(2)	*IG* II² 5310,1	4th/1st c.	CL

1. ΙΚΕΣΥΣ lap. The last two letters were perhaps added without the *sigma* being cancelled; marked (2).

53. Norm: ⟨EΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Υ⟩.

1. Εὐρυσθύς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 2363,51	Late 2nd/ early 1st c.	Comm.

54. Norm: ⟨EI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /e:/.
Var.: ⟨EΥ⟩.

1. εὐσεβεύας		*IG* II² 949,19	Ca. 165/4	Comm.
2. αὐλεῦ		*IG* II² 949,21	Ca. 165/4	Comm.
3. εὖς	(2)	*IG* II² 963,5	Ca. 140	CL

55. Norm: ⟨EΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨EΥE⟩.

1. γραμματεύες		*IG* II² 1710,8	Early 2nd c.(?)	Comm.

56. Norm: ⟨EΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨HΥ⟩.

1. Νικομεδηύς		*IG* II² 10015,2	2nd c.	Comm.

57. Norm: ⟨EM⟩.
Var.: ⟨Eϒ⟩.

1. ἐυπορηκή	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,29	Late 2nd c.	CL

1. = ἐμπορική.

58. Norm: ⟨OI⟩.
Var.: ⟨Eϒ⟩.

1. εὐκογενής		*IG* II² 11234,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.

59. Norm: ⟨Eϒ⟩.
Var.: ⟨EOϒ⟩.

1. Ἀντιοχεούς		*SEG* 21,947,3	1st c.	Ph.

60. Norm: ⟨Aϒ⟩.
Var.: ⟨A⟩.

1. ἑατῆ[ς]		*SEG* 19,207 III 2	Ca. 130	Ph.
2. ἑατ[		*IG* II² 1056/7,9	Early 1st c.(?)	Inscr. exam.
3. ἑιατῶν		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,166,98,21	Soon before 60	Ph.
4. ἑατῶι		*IG* II² 1046,15	52/1	Inscr. exam.
5. ἑατῶν		*IG* II² 1050,13	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.
6. ἑατῶν		*IG* II² 1756,29	Ca. 50	CL
7. ἑατόν		*IG* II² 3442,2	After 50	CL
8. ἑατῶν		*IG* II² 1048,5	47/2	CL
9. ἑατῶν	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (c) 6	Ca. 41/0	CL
10. ἁτούς		*IG* II¹ 482,63	38/7	Inscr. exam.
11. ἁτοῖς		*SEG* 23,77,15	37 or soon after	Ph.
12. ἑατόν		*IG* II² 1343,19	Ca. 37/6	CL
13. ἁτοῦ		*SEG* 24,212,8	31(?)	CL
14. ἑατόν		*IG* II² 3440,5	37/ca. 27	Comm.
15. ἑατοῦ		*IG* II² 4123,4	Ca. 23	Comm.
16. ἑᾳτοῦ	(2)	*IG* II² 4122,4	After 23	CL
17. ἑατῶν		*SEG* 17,46,14	21/0	Ph.
18. Ναπακτία	(Ass)	*IG* II² 9988,3	1st c.	Comm.
19. ἑατούς		*IG* II² 3504,9	Late 1st c.	Comm.
20. ἁτόν		*SEG* 21,756,3	Late 1st c.	Ph.

14. Corrected into αυ.

61. Norm: ⟨AΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. ἐτοῦ	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,63	Late 2nd c.	CL

62. Norm ⟨AΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨AE⟩.

1. ταὲτα		*IG* II² 1275,10	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.

63. Norm: ⟨AI⟩ *corresponding to tentative* /ai/.
Var.: ⟨AΥ⟩.

1. Ἐστιαυόθε[ν	(2)	*IG* II² 1010,81	Ca. 116/5	CL

64. Norm: ⟨OΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨AΥ⟩.

1. Κορίνθαυ	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,15	Ca. 166/5	CL

65. Norm: ⟨OΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨O⟩.

1. τός	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 6	Ca. 41/0	CL

66. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨OΥ⟩.

1. ἐπικαλούμενοὺ	(2)	*SEG* 21,469,12	129/8	Comm.

67. Norm: ⟨OΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩΥ⟩.

1. Ἀσκλη]πιάδωυ	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,2/3	Ca. 166/5	CL

68. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨H⟩.

1. Δημήτριης		*IG* II² 2336,125	102/96 (*SEG* 24,195)	Comm.

69. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨E⟩.

1. γεγενεῶν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1328,17	Ca. 183/2	CL
2. ἄρχοντες		*IG* II² 1042 (a/b) 12]	Ca. 41/0	CL

70. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨Υ⟩.

1. Ἰατρυκλέους		*IG* II² 8245,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.

1. = Ἰατροκλέους.

71. Norm: ⟨Ω⟩.
Var.: ⟨O⟩.

1. αὐ[τ]ῶ[ν	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,12	3rd c. (?)	CL
2. ἀπρ[ο]φασίστος	(2)	*IG* II² 1323,9	Ca. 200	CL
3. Σονίκου	(2)	*IG* II¹ 435,1	Ca. 175/4 (*IG* II² 905)	CL
4. ἐπαύξον	(2)	*IG* II¹ 435,10	Ca. 175/4 (*IG* II² 905)	CL
5. πολικῶ[ι	(2)	*IG* II² 2317,42	162/57 (?)	CL
6. τούτον	(2)	*IG* II¹ 438,11	Ca. 150 (*IG* II² 984)	CL
7. Μιχίονος	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 3477,9	After 150	CL
8. Τέχνονα		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,147,82,5	Ca. 169/47	Ph.
9. ὄν		*SEG* 21,464,6	140/39	Ph.
10. Αἴσχρον	(2)	*IG* II¹ *s.* 952 b II 29	130/20 (*IG* II² 1940)	CL
11. τῶν	(7)	*IG* II² 1134,106	117/6	Comm.
12. Εὐονυμε[ύς]	(2)	*IG* II² 6169,3	2nd c.	CL
13. [Λ]εύκονος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 6646,2	2nd c.	Comm.
14. Σοτηρικός		*IG* II² 12746,1	2nd c.	Comm.
15. πολεῖν	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,13	Late 2nd c.	CL
16. πολούντων	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,17	Late 2nd c.	CL
17. ὁμοίος	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,23	Late 2nd c.	CL
18. πολεῖν	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,32	Late 2nd c.	CL
19. ἐχέτο	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,34	Late 2nd c.	CL
20. ἔξο	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,42	Late 2nd c.	CL
21. παραλάβοσι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,53	Late 2nd c.	CL
22. ἤσπο	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,58	Late 2nd c.	CL
23. Δημοκλέος		*IG* II² 2360,51	Ca. 50	CL

22. = ἔστω.

24. σεμ]νδς	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 3	Ca. 41/0	CL
25. Προτομήδου	(2) (6) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1961,26	After 37/6 (*SEG* 22,113)	CL
26. λιπόν	(3)	Mhs 24, n. 128	Hellenistic (?)	—
27. Σοσιβίου	(2)	*SEG* 21,639,7	Hellenistic (?)	CL
28. βασιλέος	(2)	*IG* II² 3443,2	Before 16	CL
29. 'Απολλονίου	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8298,1	1st c.	Comm.
30. 'Αρίστοννος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 10283,2	Late 1st c.	Comm.
31. Σοκλῆς		*SEG* 21,497,25	Late 1st c.	Ph.
32. Κυδαθηνέος		*SEG* 3,178,2	Prob. 1st c.	Inscr. exam.

32. = Κυδαθηναιέως.

72. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ω⟩.

1. πα]ράδωσις	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,2	3rd c. (?)	CL
2. ἀποδιδώναι	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,4	3rd c. (?)	CL
3. ἀπο]διδώναι	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,8/9	3rd c. (?)	CL
4. τώδε	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,20	3rd c. (?)	CL
5. Νεωστράτη		*IG* II² 7211,1	Ca. 150	CL
6. τώ[δε]	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,60	Late 2nd c.	CL
7. 'Απολωδώρου	(2) (7) (Ass)	*IG* II² 9403,2	1st c.	CL

73. Norm: ⟨O⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩO⟩.

1. Μητ⟨ρ⟩ώοδωρος		*IG* II² 8479,1	2nd c.	Comm.

74. Norm: ⟨ΩI⟩.
Var.: ⟨OI⟩.

1. 'Αλόιω[ν		*IG* II² 1304b,14	Ca. 200	CL
2. πολεμι]στηρίο[ι	(2)	*IG* II² 2317,20	162/57 (?)	CL
3. πολικδ[ι	(2)	*IG* II² 2317,42	162/57 (?)	CL
4. τδι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,10	Late 2nd c.	CL

3. = πωλικῶι.

75. Norm: ⟨OI⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩI⟩.

1. τωῖ[ς	(2) (6)	*IG* II² 1168,9	3rd c. (?)	CL
2. 'Ερωιάδης	(2)	*SEG* 21,639,8	Hellenistic (?)	CL

76. Norm: ⟨ΟΥ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΟΙ⟩.

1. ἀπογικνομένοι		*IG* II² 1275,6	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.
2. Ἀπολλωνίοι		*SEG* 21,956,2	1st c.	Comm.

77. Norm: ⟨ΩΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ω⟩.

1. τῶ		*IG* II² 945,5	168/7	CL
2. ἵ]ππω	(2)	*IG* II² 2317,34	162/57 (?)	CL
3. γόνω		*IG* II² 4457,10	After 150	CL
4. μητρώιω		*IG* II² 971,24	140/39	Inscr. exam.
5. τραγωδοῖς		*IG* II² 1227,31	131/0	CL
6. χρυσῶ		*SEG* 15,104,89	127/6	Ph.
7. τραγ]ωδοῖς		*SEG* 15,104,96/7	127/6	Ph.
8. σ[τεφά]νω		*IG* II² 1006,31	122/1	CL
9. δλω		*IG* II² 1006,61	122/1	CL
10. τραγωδοῖς		*IG* II² 1006,94	122/1	CL
11. [δή]μω		*IG* II² 1008,51/2	119/8	CL
12. [τρ]αγωδῶν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1008,69	119/8	CL
13. τῶ		*IG* II² 1008,76	119/8	CL
14. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 1008,81	119/8	CL
15. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1008,81	119/8	CL
16. τραγωδῶν	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1008,82	119/8	CL
17. τῶ		*IG* II² 1008,82	119/8	CL
18. στ[ε]φάνω		*IG* II² 1008,86	119/8	CL
19. τῶ		*IG* II² 1008,87	119/8	CL
20. Αἰαντείω		*IG* II² 1008,87	119/8	CL
21. δή]μω		*IG* II² 1008,88	119/8	CL
22. δπλω	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,18	112/1	CL
23. Διογνήτω	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,25	112/1	CL
24. συνόδω	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,25	112/1	CL
25. δπλω	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,27	112/1	CL
26. ἱερῶ		*IG* II² 1011,9	106/5	CL
27. θεῶ		*IG* II² 1011,12	106/5	CL
28. [τ]ῶ		*IG* II² 1011,12	106/5	CL
29. Διονύσω		*IG* II² 1011,12	106/5	CL
30. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,14	106/5	CL
31. τῶ τε		*IG* II² 1011,17	106/5	CL
32. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,17	106/5	CL
33. Ἀσκληπιῶ		*IG* II² 1011,17	106/5	CL
34. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 1011,18	106/5	CL
35. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,18	106/5	CL
36. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,21	106/5	CL
37. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,23	106/5	CL
38. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 1011,25	106/5	CL
39. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,25	106/5	CL

40. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,32	106/5	CL
41. θεάτ[ρ]ω		*IG* II² 1011,32	106/5	CL
42. δήμω		*IG* II² 1011,33	106/5	CL
43. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,34	106/5	CL
44. πρυτανε[ί]ω		*IG* II² 1011,34	106/5	CL
45. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,42	106/5	CL
46. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 1011,47	106/5	CL
47. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,47	106/5	CL
48. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,48	106/5	CL
49. καινῶ		*IG* II² 1011,48	106/5	CL
50. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,54	106/5	CL
51. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,55	106/5	CL
52. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 1011,58	106/5	CL
53. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,58	106/5	CL
54. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,62	106/5	CL
55. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,63	106/5	CL
56. δήμω		*IG* II² 1011,63	106/5	CL
57. θεάτρω		*IG* II² 1011,65	106/5	CL
58. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,65	106/5	CL
59. Διονύσω		*IG* II² 1011,66	106/5	CL
60.]ω καί	(6)	*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
61. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
62. δήμω		*IG* II² 1011,67	106/5	CL
63. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,70	106/5	CL
64. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,74	106/5	CL
65. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,75	106/5	CL
66. δήμω		*IG* II² 1011,75	106/5	CL
67. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
68. Διονύσω		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
69. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,76	106/5	CL
70. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 1011,79	106/5	CL
71. τῶ		*IG* II² 1011,80	106/5	CL
72. θεῶ		*IG* II² 1011,80	106/5	CL
73. τῶ		*Hesp.* 40,96,1,10	2nd c.	Ph.
74. αὐτῶ	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,10	Late 2nd c.	CL
75. ἑαυτῶ		*IG* II² 1023,2	Late 2nd c.	Comm.
76. τῶ		*IG* II² 1054,13	Ca. 100	CL
77. τραγωδοῖς		*IG* II² 1028,48	100/99	Inscr. exam.
78. τραγωδοῖς		*IG* II² 1028,100	100/99	Inscr. exam.
79. χρυσῶ		*IG* II² 2987,6	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
80. στεφάνω		*IG* II² 2987,6	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
81. ἐνι]αυτῶ		*SEG* 25,129,4	Early 1st c.	Ph.
82. Διονύ]σω		*SEG* 25,129,11	Early 1st c.	Ph.
83. Πτολεμαίω		*IG* II² 1029,25	94/3	CL
84. γόνω		*IG* II² 1717,5	56/5	Ph.
85. τῶ		*IG* II² 2993,2	55/4	CL
86. ἱερῶ		*IG* II² 1046,18	52/1	Inscr. exam.
87. β]ουλευτηρίω		*IG* II² 1050,7	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.

88.	τῶ [β]ο[υλευτηρίωι	(2)	*IG* II² 1050,16	Ca. 50	Inscr. exam.
89.	γόνω		*IG* II² 3151,8	Ca. 50	CL
90.	τῶ	(2)	*IG* II² 1935,5	After 50	CL
91.	τῶ		*Hesp.* 13,262,15,2	49/8 (?)	Ph.
92.	ὅπλω		*IG* II² 1048,13	47/2	CL
93.	τόπω		*IG* II² 1048,20	47/2	CL
94.	ὦ		*Hesp.* 12,56,14,20	Ca. 50/40	Ph.
95.	τραγωδῶν	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 8	Ca. 41/0	CL
96.	θεάτρω		*IG* II² 1043,4	38/7	Inscr. exam.
97.	τῶ		*IG* II² 1043,29	38/7	Inscr. exam.
98.	αὐτῶ		*IG* II² 1043,33	38/7	CL
99.	τόπω		*IG* II² 1043,38	38/7	CL
100.	τῶ		*IG* II² 1043,61	38/7	CL
101.	τῶ		*IG* II² 1043,70	38/7	CL
102.	Λήμνω		*IG* II² 1051 (a) 7	After 38/7	CL
103.	ἐνιαυ]τῶ		*IG* II² 1051 (b) 1	After 38/7	CL
104.	ἐνιαυτῶ		*IG* II² 1051 (b) 3	After 38/7	CL
105.	ἐνιαυτῶ		*IG* II² 1051 (b) 6	After 38/7	CL
106.	Λήμνω		*IG* II² 1051 (c) 5	After 38/7	CL
107.	βουλομέ]νω		*SEG* 23,77,10	37 or soon after	Ph.
108.	τῶ		*SEG* 23,77,18	37 or soon after	Ph.
109.	λόγω		*IG* II² 1343,9	Ca. 37/6	CL
110.	ἐνιαυτῶ		*IG* II² 1343,17	Ca. 37/6	CL
111.	τῶ		*IG* II² 1343,19	Ca. 37/6	CL
112.	ἐνιαυτῶ		*IG* II² 1343,22	Ca. 37/6	CL
113.	τῶ		*IG* II² 1343,32	Ca. 37/6	CL
114.	στεφάνω		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,18	Ca. 20	Ph.
115.	γόνω		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,186,116,104	Ca. 20	Ph.
116.	συνόδω		*IG* II² 4707,2	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
117.	τῶ		*SEG* 21,494,30	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
118.	βουλομένω		*SEG* 21,494,30	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
119.	αὐτῶ		*SEG* 21,494,32	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
120.	τῶ		*SEG* 21,494,34	1st c.	Ph.
121.	ἑ[π]ομένω		*SEG* 21,494,34	1st c.	Ph.
122.	τ]ῶ τε		*SEG* 21,494,42	1st c.	Ph.
123.	Ἰάκχω		*SEG* 21,494,42	1st c.	Ph.

78. Norm: ⟨Ω⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩΙ⟩.

1.	πρῶιτον	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,5	3rd c. (?)	CL
2.	ἔ]σωισεν		*IG* II² 1236,6	Before 150	Inscr. exam.

1. ΠΑΛΙΤΟΝ ed.

3. τώι		*IG* II² 1236,12	Before 150	Inscr. exam.
4. θεώι		*IG* II² 1236,12	Before 150	Inscr. exam.
5. Σώιτιμος		*IG* II² 9154,1	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
6. ὑπογραφήτωι		*IG* II² 1055,24	Ca. 100	Comm.
7. Ἡρακλεῶιτις		*IG* II¹ 2972,3	2nd/1st c. (*IG* II² 8810)	Inscr. exam.
8. ὦι Βάκχε		*IG* II² 4694,4	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
9. Κολωινῆθεν		*IG* II² 1046,7	52/1	Inscr. exam.
10. ὀπίσωι		*IG* II² 1046,17	52/1	Inscr. exam.
11. ὀπίσωι		*IG* II² 1046,21	52/1	Inscr. exam.
12. ὀπίσωι		*IG* II² 1046,25	52/1	Inscr. exam.
13. νεώιτερος		*IG* II² 1046,28	52/1	Inscr. exam.
14. ζηλωιταί		*IG* II² 1046,32	52/1	Inscr. exam.
15. τῶιν		*IG* II² 1343,26	Ca. 37/6	Comm.
16. τῶιν		*IG* II² 1343,44	Ca. 37/6	Comm.

3–4. Dual.

79. Norm: ⟨ΩΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩΙΙ⟩.

1. ἱπ]πικῶιι	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,20/1	Ca. 166/5	CL

80. Norm: ⟨Ω⟩.
Var.: ⟨Α⟩.

1. Σαχράτης	(2) (Ass)	*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,129,71,80	169/8	Ph.
2. τᾶν	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,58	Late 2nd c.	CL
3. Αἰξ{α}ωνέα		*IG* II² 1028,53	100/99	Inscr. exam.

1. Λ lap.

81. Norm: ⟨Α⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ω⟩.

1. ἐών	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,12	Late 2nd c.	CL

82. Norm: ⟨Ω⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΑΙ⟩.

1. στεφανᾶισαι	(2) (Ass)	*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,129,71,26	169/8	Ph.

83. Norm: ⟨ΩΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΑΙ⟩.

1.	ἀργυροκοπί̣αι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,30	Late 2nd c.	CL

84. Norm: ⟨ΑΙ⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΩΙ⟩.

1.	χρῆτωι	(2) (7)	*IG* II² 1013,18	Late 2nd c.	CL

85. Norm: ⟨α⟩.
Var.: ⟨αα⟩.

1.	Λαμπτρεέως		*Hesp.* 17,49,50,5	2nd c.	Ph.

86. Norm: ⟨α⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ø⟩.

1.	ἐνγ⟨υ⟩ητάς	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,3	3rd c. (?)	CL
2.	Μεν⟨ε⟩κράτου		*Hesp.* 17,51,55,2	3rd/2nd c.	Ph.
3.	Ἀριστόν⟨ι⟩κος		*IG* II² 6946,1	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.
4.	Νουμήν⟨ι⟩ος		*IG* II² 1710,11	Early 2nd c. (?)	Comm.
5.	Αἰσχρ⟨ί⟩ων		*Hesp.* 10,275,73,2	196/5	Ph.
6.	π]αιδοτρ⟨ί⟩βην		*Hesp.* 15,193,38,16	186/5	Ph.
7.	Μυνν⟨ί⟩ωνος	(2)	*IG* II² 2315,30	After 180	CL
8.	δίαυλ⟨ο⟩ν	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,29	Ca. 166/5	CL
9.	Λ⟨α⟩οδικεύς	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,51	Ca. 166/5	CL
10.	δίαυλ⟨ο⟩ν	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,60	Ca. 166/5	CL
11.	Θη⟨ο⟩δωρίδ[ης]		*IG* II¹ 444 II 76	161/0 (*IG* II² 956)	Inscr. exam.
12.	συνχρήσασθ⟨αι⟩ καί		*IG* II² 968,16	Ca. 151/0	Inscr. exam.
13.	τῆς ⟨ἐ⟩πί		*SEG* 21,654,2	141/0	Comm.
14.	τοῦ ⟨ἱ⟩ερέως		*IG* II² 1019,42	137/6 (*Hesp.* 28,187,9)	Ph.
15.	Ἀφρ⟨ο⟩δίσιος		*SEG* 12,101,75	135/4	Inscr. exam.
16.	στῆσαι ⟨ἐ⟩ν		*SEG* 15,104,140	127/6	Ph.
17.	Βερ⟨ε⟩νικί[δης]		*IG* II¹ 469,125	119/8 (*Hesp.* 33,213,58)	Inscr. exam.
18.	Ἀφιδναῖ⟨ο⟩ς		*SEG* 21,477,94	119/8	Ph.
19.	ἀκοντ⟨ι⟩σ⟨τή⟩ν		*SEG* 21,477,131	119/8	Ph.
20.	Νικ⟨ί⟩ας	(2)	*SEG* 25,189,88	109/8	Ph.

21.	ἃ ⟨ἀ⟩παγγέλλει	(7)	*IG* II² 1011,77	106/5	CL
22.	Α⟨ι⟩ξ⟨ω⟩νέω⟨ς⟩		*IG* II² 5406,3	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
23.	Κ⟨ι⟩βυρᾶτις	(5)	*IG* II² 9027,3	2nd c.	Comm.
24.	Πρ⟨ό⟩σφιλος	(2)	*IG* II² 10260,1	2nd c.	CL
25.	πρόσωπ⟨ο⟩ν		*Hesp.* 10,60,24,3	2nd c.	Ph.
26.	ποι⟨η⟩σάμεναι	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,8	Late 2nd c.	CL
27.	κ⟨αὶ⟩ ὀκτώ	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,30	Late 2nd c.	CL
28.	χαρακτῆρ⟨ι⟩ μολυ[βδίν]ωι	(2) (7)	*IG* II² 1013,64	Late 2nd c.	CL
29.	Ὀλυμπ⟨ι⟩οδῳ[		*IG* II² 1024,14	Late 2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
30.	Διον⟨υ⟩σίου		*IG* II² 9510,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
31.	Ἀφροδ|⟨ί⟩τη	(2)	*IG* II² 10936a,1	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
32.	Εἰτ⟨ε⟩αῖος	(2) (3)	*SEG* 15,146,3	2nd/1st c.	—
33.	δρ⟨α⟩χμῶν		*IG* II¹ 477,13	98/7 (*IG* II² 1034)	Inscr. exam.
34.	ἱ⟨έ⟩ρεια		*IG* II² 1337,4	97/6 (*SEG* 16,111)	CL
35.	προγε]γρ⟨α⟩μμένων		*Hesp.* 40,101,3,15/6	84/3	Ph.
36.	[Δη]μήτρ⟨ι⟩ος		*IG* II² 2461,120	Ca. 50	CL
37.	Διονισ⟨ί⟩ων	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 8	Ca. 41/0	CL
38.	Μαρρ⟨α⟩θώνιος	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 16	Ca. 41/0	CL
39.	πρ⟨ώ⟩της	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 17	Ca. 41/0	CL
40.	καὶ ⟨ἐ⟩περώτασ[ιν		*Hesp.* 9,86,17,18	Ca. 37/6	Ph.
41.	Ἡλιόδ⟨ω⟩ρος		*IG* II² 2338,11	27/17	Comm.
42.	Κ⟨α⟩λλίστρατος		*IG* II² 2338,29	27/17	CL
43.	τ⟨ι⟩να		*Hesp.* 44,207 B 5	Ca. 10/02	Inscr. exam.
44.	[Ἀ]ζην⟨ι⟩εύς	(2) (6)	*IG* II² 5310,3	4th/1st c.	CL
45.	χαριστήρι⟨ο⟩ν		*IG* II² 4709,2	1st c.	Comm.
46.	Εὔπ⟨ο⟩ρος	(6)	*IG* II² 8657,1	1st c.	Comm.
47.	Λέαιν⟨α⟩ |		*IG* II² 9741,1	1st c.	Comm.
48.	Σόλ⟨ω⟩νος		*IG* II² 11830,2	1st c.	Comm.
49.	Στρατον⟨ί⟩κη		*IG* II² 12662,1	1st c.	Comm.
50.	[Σ]ωσ⟨ί⟩βιος		*IG* II² 1964,8	Late 1st c.	Comm.
51.	Σαρδ⟨ι⟩ανοῦ	(5)	*IG* II² 10240,5	Late 1st c.	Comm.

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44. Perhaps = Ἀτηνεύς. Marked (6).

87. *Norm*: ⟨Φ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Π⟩.

1.	ἐπ' Ἰπάχου	*IG* II² 1328,24	Ca. 175/4	CL
2.	Πανο{ν}δίκα	*IG* II² 6085,1	2nd c.	Comm.

88. Norm: ⟨Τ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Θ⟩.

1. καθ' ἰδίαν		*IG* II² 1281,10	Ca. 266	CL
2. καθ' ἰδίαν		*IG* II² 891,6	Ca. 188/7	CL
3. κα]θ' ἰδίαν		*SEG* 16,84,13	188/7	FS
4. καθ' ἰδίαν		*SEG* 16,94,12	173/67	Ph.
5. κα]θ' ἰδίαν	(2)	*IG* II² 953,9	Ca. 160/59	Inscr. exam.
6. μεθ' ἑννέα		*SEG* 21,584,5	144/3 (?)	Ph.
7. κ̣α̣θ' ἕ̣[τος]	(2) (3)	*SEG* 21,469,27	129/8	—

1. Not in Teodorsson 1974.

89. Norm: ⟨Χ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Κ⟩.

1. ἄρκοντες	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,6	Late 2nd c.	CL
2. Χολκίς	(Met)	*IG* II² 9049,3	1st c.	Comm.

90. Norm: ⟨Κ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Χ⟩.

1. Ἴαχχον	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1006,9	122/1	CL
2. Βαχχίς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8591,1	2nd/1st c.	CL
3. Βάχχιος	(Ass)	*IG* II² 1717,10	56/5	Ph.
4. Κολκίς	(Met)	*IG* II² 9049,3	1st c.	Comm.
5. Βαχχίς	(Ass)	*IG* II² 8592,1	Late 1st c.	CL

91. Norm: ⟨Κ⟩ /_{⟨α⟩ ⟨σ⟩} *corresponding to tentative* /C^aton/.
Var.: ⟨Γ⟩.

1. ἐγφερομένην	*IG* II² 1053,11	After 38/7 (*SEG* 24,142)	CL

92. Norm: ⟨Γ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Κ⟩.

1. θυκάτηρ	*IG* II² 6331,4	3rd c.	Comm.
2. Μεκαρική	*IG* II² 9318,3	3rd c.	CL
3. ἀπογικνομένοι	*IG* II² 1275,6	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.

1–2. Not in Teodorsson 1974.
3. = -μένου.

93. Norm: ⟨Γ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ø⟩.

1. ὁλί⟨γ⟩ον		*IG* II² 1325,22	Ca. 185/4	CL
2. ὁλί⟨γ⟩α		*IG* II² 949,11	Ca. 165/4	CL
3. ὁλί⟨γ⟩ον		*IG* II² 1227,8	131/0	CL

94. Norm: ⟨Ι⟩.
Var.: ⟨Γ⟩.

1. ἱ]εροπογούς	(2)	*IG* II² 1242,7/8	3rd c. (?)	CL

95. Norm: ⟨Γ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ε⟩.

1. πυεμήν	(2)	*IG* II² 2316,12	Ca. 166/5	CL

96. Norm: ⟨Χ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ξ⟩.

1. Ἀντιοξέως		*IG* II² 9888,5	1st c.	Comm.

97. Norm: ⟨Σ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ξ⟩.

1. παραδότωξαν		*SEG* 23,17,18	37 or soon after	Ph.

98. Norm: ⟨Ξ⟩
Var.: ⟨Σ⟩.

1. ἄσιος		*IG* II² 924,6	Early 2nd c. (?)	Comm.
2. Σένων		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,148,84,121	155/4	Comm.
3. Ἀλεσάνδρ[ου		*IG* II² 1134,8	117/6	Comm.
4. ἐσί[στω]	(2) (Ass)	*IG* II² 1013,13	Late 2nd c.	CL
5. Ῥησίμαχος	(2) (6)	*IG* II² 7006,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
6. κῆρυς		*IG* II² 1720,8	56/5	Ph.
7. [Ἀπολ]ήσιδος	(2)	*IG* II² 3505,6	21/0 (*SEG* 23,111)	CL

6. Date and Ph. *Hesp.* 3,150.

99. Norm: ⟨Ζ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ξ⟩.

1. Ξώπυρος	(2)	*IG* II² 7943,1	1st c.	CL

100. Norm: ⟨Φ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ψ⟩.

1. Ψώκου		*IG* II² 6432,2	1st c.	Comm.

101. Norm: ⟨Ψ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Φ⟩.

1. φήφ[ισμα	(Ass)	*SEG* 21,418,8	Early 2nd c.	Ph.

102. Norm: ⟨Z⟩.
Var.: ⟨Σ⟩.

1. ἐπεψήφισεν	(2)	*IG* II² 1012,7	112/1	Comm.
2. Βυσαντία		*IG* II² 8439,2	1st c.	Comm.

103. Norm: ⟨Σ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Z⟩.

1. Ζμυρναῖος	(2)	*IG* II² 2313,30	194/89	CL
2. Ζμυρναῖος		*IG* II² 2314,19	182/77	Inscr. exam.
3. Ζμυρναῖος		*IG* II² 2314,25	182/77	Inscr. exam.
4. Ζμυρναῖος		*IG* II² 1011 V 109	106/5	CL
5. Ζμύρνα		*IG* II² 9871,1	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
6. χ[είλ]ουζ δακτύλου	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,22/3	Late 2nd c.	CL
7. Ζωστράτου		*IG* II² 12098,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
8. ψήφιζμα		*IG* II² 1029,16	94/3	CL

104. Norm: ⟨Z⟩.
Var.: ⟨ΣZ⟩.

1. ἐπε]ψήφισζεν		*SEG* 21,462,20	Ca. 150	Ph.

105. Norm: ⟨σσ⟩.
Var.: ⟨σ⟩.

1. ὑπογραματέα		*IG* II² 876,3	Late 3rd c. (?)	Inscr. exam.
2. Ἀλικαρνασεύς		*IG* II² 8042,2	3rd/2nd c.	CL
3. Μήδισα		*IG* II² 9354,2	3rd/2nd c.	CL
4. Ἰπάκου		*IG* II² 1328,24	Ca. 175/4	CL
5. Νανάκου		*Hesp.* 3,21,19,2	166/5	Ph.
6. Ἀπολώνιος		*IG* II¹ 444 II 56	161/0 (*IG* II² 956)	Inscr. exam.
7. Καλίου		*IG* II¹ 445 (e) 11	Ca. 158/7 (*IG* II² 957)	Inscr. exam.

8. ἀπ]αγγέλουσ[ιν]		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,148,84,6	155/4	Ph.
9. Ἀπολωνίδο[υ]		*IG* II² 3470,11	200/150	CL
10. ἐλείποντα		*IG* II¹ 422,17	Ca. 144/3 (*IG* II² 968)	Inscr. exam.
11. παννυχίδα⟨ς⟩ συνετέλεσεν		*IG* II² 974,22	137/6	CL
12. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλας		*IG* II² 1227,34	131/0	CL
13. Ἱποθων[τίδος	(2)	*IG* II² 964,4	Ca. 130	CL
14. τοὺ⟨ς⟩ σ⟨τρ⟩ατηγοὺς		*SEG* 21,469,25	129/8	Comm.
15. ἀπα[γ]γέλει	(2)	*SEG* 15,104,106	127/6	Comm.
16. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλην		*SEG* 15,104,140	127/6	Ph.
17. ἐκλησίαις		*IG* II¹ 471,21	122/1 (*IG* II² 1006)	Inscr. exam.
18. Ἱπάρχου		*IG* II² 1008,53	119/8	CL
19. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλην		*IG* II² 1228,11	116/5	CL
20. τ]οὺ⟨ς⟩ στρατηγούς		*IG* II² 1011,49	106/5	CL
21. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλην		*IG* II² 1011,51	106/5	CL
22. Ἀπολωνιεύς		*IG* II² 5688,3	2nd c.	Comm.
23. Καλιστράτου		*IG* II² 10818,2	2nd c.	Comm.
24. Συπαλήτιος		*IG* II² 7492,3	Late 2nd c.	Comm.
25. Καλιμάχου		*Arch. Eph.* 1971,129,25,2	Ca. 100	Ph.
26. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλην		*IG* II² 1028,56	100/99	Inscr. exam.
27. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στή[λην		*IG* II² 1028,104	100/99	Inscr. exam.
28. [Κ]αλισ[τώ]		*SEG* 21,942,1	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
29. Σφητίου		*IG* II² 1034 (d) I 14	98/7	CL
30. Σφητίου		*IG* II² 1034 (d) I 20	98/7	CL
31. εἰ⟨ς⟩ στήλην		*IG* II² 1036,24	Ca. 78/7	CL
32. ἐ⟨ς⟩ στήλη⟨ν⟩	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 15	Ca. 41/0	CL
33. τῆ⟨ς⟩ στοᾶς		*SEG* 23,77,15	37 or soon after	Ph.
34. γραματεύς		*IG* II² 1059,5	Ca. 40/30 (*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,173,105)	Inscr. exam.
35. ὑπογραματεύς		*IG* II² 1059,7	Ca. 40/30 (*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,173,105)	Inscr. exam.
36. Ἱποκράτης		*IG* II² 7800a,1	1st c.	Comm.
37. Θρᾶιτα		*IG* II² 8912	1st c.	Comm.
38. Λαοδίκισα		*IG* II² 9166,2	1st c.	Comm.
39. [Με]θάνισα		*IG* II² 9329,3	1st c.	Comm.
40. Ἀπολων[ί]α	(2)	*IG* II² 9403,1	1st c.	CL
41. Ἀπολωδώρου	(2)	*IG* II² 9403,2	1st c.	CL

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41. Δ lap.

42. Σφητίου		*IG* II² 4714,2	Late 1st c.	Ph.
43. πρατομένω[ν]		*SEG* 21,497,22	Late 1st c.	Ph.

106. Norm: ⟨σ⟩.
Var.: ⟨σσ⟩.

1. Καλλικκράτου		*IG* II¹ 1788,2	3rd/2nd c. (*IG* II² 5487)	Comm.
2. Καλλικκράτου		*IG* 11¹ 1788,2	3rd/2nd c. (*IG* II² 5487)	Comm.
3. Χαιρεσστράτη		*IG* II² 8036,1	3rd/2nd c.	CL
4. ⟨Β⟩ακχίςς		*IG* II² 8590,1	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.
5. [Ν]ικόσσ[τ]ρατος		*IG* II² 5706,1	Early 2nd c.	CL
6. ἕωςς ἄν		*IG* II² 1328,18	Ca. 183/2	CL
7. Ἀπολλωνίου		*IG* II¹ 444 II 74	161/0 (*IG* II² 956)	Inscr. exam.
8. Συννών		*Hesp.* 9,122,25,60	165/50	Ph.
9. Φρυνίσσκου		*IG* II² 2452,8	After 125/4 (?)	CL
10. Κυθήρριος		*IG* II² 2447,5	2nd c.	CL
11. Ἀρισστώ		*IG* II² 8079,1	2nd c.	CL
12. Ἀρίσστωνος	(3)	*IG* II² 8482,5	2nd c.	—
13. Λακεδ[[δ]]αιμονία		*IG* II² 9147,3	2nd c.	Comm.
14. ἐγγραμμάτευεν		*IG* II² 1028,67	100/99	Comm.
15. Διοσσκουρίδου		*IG* II² 8342,2	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
16. ἐγγ Μυρρι-νούττης		*SEG* 13,92,6	2nd/1st c.	Inscr. exam.
17. Ἀρι]σστολάου	(2)	*SEG* 19,266,2	2nd/1st c.	Ph.
18. ἐ]κκ τοῦ		*IG* II² 1037,5	Early 1st c.	Comm.
19. Μαρρ⟨α⟩θώνιος	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 16	Ca. 41/0	CL
20. Ἀσσ[κλη]πιοῦ		*IG* II² 4465,5	Ca. 26/5	CL
21. Ἱπποσσθενίδος		*IG* II² 4126,12	After 14	CL
22. χαρισστήριον	(2)	*IG* II² 4710,3	1st c.	CL
23. Ἀρέσσκουσα		*IG* II² 6764,1	1st c.	CL
24. Μενέσστρατος		*IG* II² 8337,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
25. Προσστασία		*IG* II² 9232,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
26. Χορόππου		*IG* II² 7765,2	Late 1st c.	Comm.
27. Ἀρίστοννος		*IG* II² 10283,2	Late 1st c.	Comm.

107. Norm: ⟨σ⟩.
Var.: ⟨Ø⟩.

1. Νικάνδ⟨ρ⟩ου		*IG* II² 6033,2	3rd c.	CL
2. τὰ⟨ς⟩ γενομένα[ς	(2)	*IG* II² 1168,11	3rd c. (?)	CL
3. Ἡρακ⟨λ⟩εώτης		*IG* II² 8557,2	3rd/2nd c.	CL

1. Not in Teodorsson 1974.

4. |⟨Β⟩αχχίς		*IG* II² 8590,1	3rd/2nd c.	Comm.
5. Διοσκουρι⟨δ⟩ου	(2)	*IG* II² 2315,28	After 180	CL
6. Ἀλαβά⟨ν⟩δων	(2) (5)	*IG* II² 2315,36	After 180	CL
7. ἀπὸ Μεσσήνη⟨ς⟩		*IG* II² 2314,27	182/77	Inscr. exam.
8. γενομένη⟨ς⟩ ἱερείας		*IG* II² 1328,29	Ca. 175/4	CL
9. ταμία⟨ν⟩| Κασσανδρίδην		*SEG* 16,91,30	173/2	Ph.
10. Ἀσκ⟨λ⟩ηπιάδου		*IG* II² 945,3	168/7	CL
11. τοὺ⟨ς⟩ ἐκπεμπομένους		*IG* II² 1236,13	Before 150	Inscr. exam.
12. [Λύ]σα⟨ν⟩δρος		*SEG* 12,101,63	135/4	Inscr. exam.
13. τοὺ⟨ς⟩ ἀπό	(2)	*SEG* 21,469,23	129/8	Comm.
14. ἀγομένου⟨ς⟩ ἱε[ρεῖ]α	(2) (3)	*SEG* 21,469,27	129/8	—
15. ἱέρειαι ⟨κ⟩αί	(2) (3)	*SEG* 21,469,32	129/8	—
16. Λαμπ⟨τ⟩ρέα		*SEG* 15,104,41	127/6	Comm.
17. Χολα⟨ρ⟩γεύς		*SEG* 15,104,188	127/6	Comm.
18. τοῖ⟨ς⟩ τήν		Peek 10,6,5	127/6	Ph.
19. ἰσ⟨τ⟩αμέν[ου	(2) (3)	*IG* II² 1005,3	122/1	—
20. τετά⟨ρ⟩της		*IG* II² 1011,31	106/5	CL
21. συ⟨ν⟩ετήρησεν		*IG* II² 1011,38	106/5	CL
22. πρὸ⟨ς⟩ τούς		*SEG* 16,100,19	104/3	Ph.
23. τῆ⟨ς⟩ Μούσης		*Hesp.* 7,468,28,3	2nd c.	Inscr. exam.
24. [Λ]αμπ⟨τ⟩ρέως		*IG* II² 6646,3	2nd c.	Comm.
25. Μητ⟨ρ⟩ώοδωρος	(Diss)	*IG* II² 8479,1	2nd c.	Comm.
26. Ἡρακ⟨λ⟩εῶτις	(2)	*IG* II² 8654,3	2nd c.	CL
27. ἐ⟨μ⟩πορικόν	(2)	*IG* II¹ 476,35	Late 2nd c. (*IG* II² 1013)	CL
28. Δήμητρι ⟨κ⟩αί	(2)	*IG* II² 1013,13	Late 2nd c.	CL
29. Ἀν⟨τ⟩ιπάτρ[ου	(Diss)	*IG* II² 2458,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
30. ἔ⟨μ⟩βρυον		*IG* II² 4462,3	2nd/1st c.	CL
31. Προσπάλ⟨τ⟩ηος		*IG* II² 7316,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
32. Μιλη⟨σ⟩ίου		*IG* II² 9510,3	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
33. χρη⟨σ⟩τός		*IG* II² 13048,2	2nd/1st c.	Comm.
34. δημοσί]α ⟨σ⟩φραγῖδι		*IG* II² 1037,7	Early 1st c.	Comm.
35. συνπρόεδ⟨ρ⟩οι	(Diss)	*IG* II¹ 477,5	98/7 (*IG* II² 1034)	Inscr. exam.
36. Μα⟨ν⟩τ[ίου		*IG* II² 1034 (d) II 9	98/7	CL
37. ἐποιήσα⟨ν⟩το	(7)	*IG* II² 1030,6	After 94/3	CL
38. ἐπιτελεῖ⟨ν⟩ ὧν		*IG* II² 1338,10	After 86	CL
39. Θράσω⟨ν⟩ Τισάνδρου		*Hesp. Suppl.* 1,166,98,17	Soon before 60	Ph.
40. ἕκαστο⟨ν⟩ | [αὐτῶν		*IG* II² 1042 (d) 13	Ca. 41/0	CL
41. στήλη⟨ν⟩ κ[αί	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 15	Ca. 41/0	CL

5. The *iota* might be an unfinished *delta*; marked (2).

42. συντελουμένω⟨ν⟩ | [ἡ	(2)	*IG* II² 1042 (d) 16	Ca. 41/0	CL
43. Ἀντιφί⟨λ⟩ου		*AJP* 31,378,2,3	Hellenistic	Comm.
44. Πεμπτί⟨δ⟩ου		*AJP* 31,392,46,3	Hellenistic	Comm.
45. θεῶ⟨ν⟩ χαρισστήριον	(2)	*IG* II² 4710,3	1st c.	CL
46. Διοφά⟨ν⟩ης		*IG* II² 6571,1	1st c.	Comm.
47. Εὐτέ⟨ρ⟩πη		*IG* II² 8063,1	1st c.	Comm.
48. Γ⟨λ⟩υκέα		*IG* II² 8608,1	1st c.	Comm.
49. Σκο⟨τ⟩υσαῖος	(6)	*IG* II² 10367,3	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
50. Βά⟨κ⟩χιος		*IG* II² 10940,1	1st c.	Inscr. exam.
51.]ένη⟨ς⟩ Ἀρισ[τ		*IG* II² 1962,9	Late 1st c.	Comm.
52. Ζώσιμο⟨ς⟩		*IG* II² 9649,1	Late 1st c.	Comm.

Chapter 3

PHONETIC EVALUATION

Preliminaries

The evaluation of the orthographic data is performed according to the same principles as in the preceding studies.[28] Since the aim of the present study is to describe the phonological development of Attic in the Hellenistic period, the orthographic data of the third century B.C., which were included in Teodorsson 1974,[29] are also taken into account in the evaluation.

The potential evidential value of an overall view of the orthographic data of the entire pre-Christian era is made use of by surveys of the frequency of certain types of orthographic variation during different periods (centuries), in relation to the bulk of corpus of each period. For an adequate comparison, the corpus of all periods must be commensurable. Unfortunately, this is not entirely the case in the Attic material. In the archaic and classical times there is a category of documents that is absent in the Hellenistic period, the group defined as strictly private in Teodorsson 1974 (p. 56), i.e. vase inscriptions, ostraca, defixiones, pinakia, and school-tablets. In comparing the relative frequency of certain orthographic variations in various periods, it was then necessary to exclude this particular group.

These strictly private documents excluded, the extent of the corpus of state, sub-unit, and formal private documents[30] comprises the following number of pages (normal book size):

Table 1

Century	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st
Pages	20	800	1 980	540	585	405

[28] Teodorsson 1974: 163–174, and 1977: 209–212.

[29] The data of the 3rd century were included in that study to facilitate the chronological survey.

[30] These three groups of documents are those defined by Henry 1967: 257, n. 2.

The sociolinguistic aspect is always considered in the evaluation of the data. The existence of synchronous subdialects is stated when the data indicate this, and the relative importance of the subdialects in different periods is studied. The main issue is the competition between the innovative (popular) and the conservative subdialects.

Phonetic Evaluation

GRAPHEMIC NEUTRALIZATIONS

1 ⟨EI⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variations 1–3*)

Table 2

Chronological and positional distribution

Period		–500[31]	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Var.	Position						
1		4 (–)[32]	2 (–)	2 (2)	3 (1)	3	1
2	/_[V]	–	–	–	–	–	2
3		1 (–)	2 (1)	8 (8)	2 (1)	1	–
1		–	–	–	1 (1)	–	–
2	/_#[V]	–	–	–	–	–	–
3		–	–	–	–	–	–
1		13 (–)	24 (8)	12 (7)	13 (9)	14	43
2	/_[C]	5 (–)	7 (5)	5 (5)	7 (7)	14	92
3		1 (–)	5 (–)	3 (3)	10 (8)	1	4
1		–	1 (–)	–	1 (–)	–	1
2	/_#[C]	–	–	–	–	–	–
3		–	–	–	–	–	–
1		–	1 (–)	–	–	–	–
2	/_#	–	–	–	–	–	–
3		–	–	–	–	–	–

[31] Only instances dated with certainty in the prior century are sorted there; others are counted as belonging to the subsequent one.

[32] The figures within parentheses indicate the number of instances found in documents of the categories treated by Henry 1967, i.e. official documents, and formal private ones such as sepulcral and dedicatory inscriptions. Other figures indicate the total number of instances, i.e., including those found in the category of strictly private documents (cf. above, p. 57). In the last two centuries B.C. there are no documents of this category.

The phonetic change [e:]>[i:] and the equalization of vowel length are the processes to be studied in this graphemic neutralization. Being dephonologizations,[33] and considering that the conditions are favourable to graphemic neutralization, one should expect them to produce frequent neutralization.

For the time down to ca. 200, all three variations show a rather high frequency,[34] while in the last two centuries B.C. Var. 3 is very infrequent, especially as compared with Var. 2 of that period.[35]

There is a very marked increase of frequency in Vars. 1–2 in the 1st c. B.C., especially in the latter half.

The incidence of variation /_[V] and /_[C] respectively shows an interesting pattern: while there is a steady (and partly rapid) increase of frequency /_[C] during the three Hellenistic centuries, there is a decrease /_[V].[36] There are always comparatively few instances in this position.[37] It is noticeable that during the 6th and 5th centuries the instances /_[V] are found above all in strictly private documents, while in the 4th century all instances in this position come from official or formal private ones.

Conclusions

The change [e:]>[i:] /_[C] that had begun already in the 6th century spread continuously in the population during the following centuries. After having spread to the majority in the 5th century, it also became general in the rest of the population in the Hellenistic period.

In the position before [V] there was a different development. In the 4th century the i-pronunciation was rather widespread in the population even in that position. It is obvious, however, that, in the innovative subsystem in which /e:/ had closed into [i:] even /_[V], there was an open allophone in this position.[38]

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[33] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 166.

[34] In instances of ⟨E⟩ for ⟨I⟩ dated before ca. 350 in Teodorsson 1974, Vars. 2 (8 instances) and 3 (8 instances), it cannot for orthographic reasons be decided whether ⟨EI⟩ or ⟨E⟩ was intended by the writer. The four instances of ⟨E⟩ dated after 350 (*loc. cit.*, p. 78, n. 71, and p. 79, n. 72) must be left out of consideration.

[35] The two instances Var. 3,4–5 are little evident since they are found in a Latin morpheme.

[36] All four instances dated in the 2nd c. (Var. 1,2 and 5–6; Var. 3,1) are dated before 183/2.

[37] It must be considered, however, that the tentative phonemes /i:/ and /e:/ are less frequent /_[V].

[38] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 178.

The decrease of incidence of Neutralization 1 /_[V] in the last two centuries B.C., as compared with the rapid increase /_[C], shows that the proportion of speakers using the i-pronunciation in that position was smaller in that period than in the 4th and 3rd centuries.

The striking difference in frequency between Vars. 2 and 3 in the last two centuries B.C. (ratio 108 : 6), in comparison with the pattern of the preceding four centuries in which Var. 3 is equally or, in the 4th and 3rd centuries, more frequent,[39] shows that the proportion of speakers lacking the phoneme /:/ was much smaller in the 2nd and 1st centuries.

2a ⟨EI⟩~⟨IEI⟩ (*Variation 4*)
2b ⟨EI⟩~⟨EII⟩ (*Variation 5*)
2c ⟨I⟩~⟨EIII⟩ (*Variation 6*)

These infrequent data provide some further evidence for the change [e:] > [i:].

3 ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variations 7–8*)

The incidence of this neutralization in the last three centuries B.C. is very insignificant. In earlier times, or more exactly, before 350, it was not so. In Teodorsson 1974, Var. 4, which corresponds to the above Var. 7,[40] comprises 41 instances, among which 20 are certainly, and another 7 possibly, written in the 4th century. Only 5 instances are dated with certainty after 350.

It is important that about half (19) of the total number of instances (41) are found in strictly private documents,[41] considering that this group of documents amounts to only ca. 8 % of the corpus and, in the 4th c., to less than 4 %.

After the 4th century, variation practically ceases: only three instances (Var. 4,41 and Var. 3,25 and 30) are dated with certainty in the 3rd century.

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[39] Teodorsson 1974: 78–80. If the instances of ⟨E⟩ in Vars. 2 and 3 are not counted, and the two instances of {γειν} (Var. 3,23 and 26) are classified under Var. 2 as they ought to be, the ratio is 4:4 for the 6th and 5th, and 13:15 for the 4th and 3rd centuries.

[40] In Teodorsson 1974, the instances corresponding to the above Var. 8 are comprised in Vars. 2 and 3. Before 350 ⟨E⟩ may stand for ⟨EI⟩.

[41] Cf. the entirely different proportion in Teodorsson 1974, Var. 6 (⟨EI⟩ for ⟨E⟩ /_[V]). Cf. below, p. 62.

The Ptolemaic data[42] show a similar chronological distribution, with the exception that the frequency begins to decrease about a century later than in Attic and never reaches such a low rate.

The positional distribution is also quite similar. In the Ptol. Var. 10 there are 5 instances /_[V] and 18 elsewhere, and in the Attic data[43] the ratio is 9:35. In the direction ⟨E⟩ for ⟨I⟩ the ratio is 12:12 in the Ptol. Var. 11, and 6:5 in the Attic data.[44]

Conclusions

The frequent Attic graphemic neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ in the 4th century was interpreted by Teodorsson 1974 (p. 178) as evidence of a tendency of the short vowels /e/ and /i/ to merge, but not as evidence of actual merger, seeing that in Modern Greek these original vowels have merged with original /ai/ and /i:/ respectively.[45]

It is obvious, however, that the rather high incidence of the graphemic neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ in 4th century Attic may be explained as evidence of actual merger of /e/ and /i/ in the phonemic system of a considerable part of the population.[46] This conclusion is supported by the further evidence of the neutralization ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩, which also indicates that the phonetic quality of the sound was [i].[47]

On the other hand, the virtual cessation of the graphemic neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ in the 3rd century shows that from about 250 on there were practically no speakers of Attic who lacked the phonemic distinction /ɛ/:/i/. For further evidence supporting this conclusion, cf. below, Neutralizations 4–5.

In the early 4th century the phonetic quality of /e/ may have been rather similar to /i/ even in the subsystem(s) which preserved the phonological opposition between the sounds. Soon, probably by about the middle of that century, however, the opening process in that vowel set in and then continued until it had reached the quality [ɛ]. This seems to

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[42] Teodorsson 1977: 99–101, Vars. 10–11.

[43] Teodorsson 1974: 80–81, Var. 4; and the above Var. 7.

[44] Teodorsson 1974: 79–80, Var. 3, the ⟨E⟩-instances.

[45] This could not have happened if the merger had spread to the entire population.

[46] There may also have existed a group of speakers of Ptolemaic Koine, especially in the 3rd c., who had lost the phonemic distinction between these vowels; cf. Teodorsson 1977: 99–101. This phonological feature seems to have been preserved by minor Greek-speaking groups in Egypt as late as in Roman and early Byzantine times (Gignac 1976: 249–256).

[47] Cf. below, p. 63.

have happened by about the middle of the 3rd century. Evidence for this is the low frequency of the neutralizations ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ and ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩, and the virtual absence of ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩,[48] from that time on.

4 ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variations 9–10*)

This neutralization is highly concentrated to the 4th century, and to the position /_[V].[49] In the 3rd century there is a marked decrease of frequency, particularly from ca. 250 on, and it then remains insignificant throughout the Hellenistic period. There is always a predominating incidence /_[V].

It is observed that the numerous instances of ⟨EI⟩ for ⟨E⟩ /_[V] in the 4th c. are almost exclusively found in documents other than the strictly private ones.[50] This differs significantly from the situation in Teodorsson 1974, Var. 4 (⟨I⟩ for ⟨E⟩), where this small group of documents[51] supplies nearly half of the total number of instances, and Vars. 13–14 (⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩) in which almost two thirds of the instances are found in strictly private documents.

Evidently, people in whose graphophonological component[52] the graphemes ⟨E⟩ and ⟨I⟩ both corresponded to /i/, and ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] corresponded to /e:/, were less apt to substitute ⟨EI⟩ for ⟨E⟩, or the reverse, than those in whom ⟨E⟩, and ⟨EI⟩ /_[V], both corresponded to e-sounds. In addition to this phonetic similarity as a cause of neutralization there was also the general tendency of long vowels (and diphthongs) to be shortened /_[V].[53]

Conclusions

The largely complementary distribution in the 4th century of the graphemic neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨EI⟩ /_[V] on the one hand, and ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ and ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ on the other, with regard to documental provenience, shows that these two groups of neutralizations were to a large extent produced by people with different phonemic systems.

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[48] Teodorsson 1974: 93, Var. 22, and below, p. 70.

[49] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 81–84, Vars. 5–6; and Meisterhans 1900: 40–47.

[50] For definition, cf. Teodorsson 1974: 56.

[51] Cf. above, p. 60.

[52] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 39.

[53] If the following vowel was accentuated this was regular, e.g. δωρεά, Ἡρακλεώτης, and demotics on -εεύς. Cf. Meisterhans 1900: 44; and Teodorsson 1974: 178, n. 102.

In the phonemic system of the writers of the latter group all three graphemes, ⟨I⟩, ⟨E⟩, and ⟨H⟩, most probably corresponded to i-sounds.[54] If, in the same writers, ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] corresponded to an e-sound, this explains why these writers apparently produced so few instances of the neutralization ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩.

However, there is some evidence in the neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩[55] that, in the former half of the 4th century, the i-pronunciation for ⟨E⟩ had spread even among writers of official documents. In so far as this was the case, the neutralization ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ /_[V] evidences an i-sound as correspondent to ⟨EI⟩ even /_[V].[56] It may be, then, that the merger of both /e:/ /_[V] and /e/ into the corresponding i-sounds had spread equally in the popolation—but probably not in the same groups of speakers—by about the middle of the 4th century. But this development did not reach its conclusion. There was always a considerable number of speakers who preserved the opposition /e/:/i/.

The marked decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ by about 300 indicates that either of the two sounds involved had changed its phonetic character. Since there is no decisive evidence to show that the e-sound corresponding to ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] changed into [i:] in increasing numbers of Attic speakers after 300, but strong evidence to the contrary,[57] the safe conclusion is that /e/ (⟨E⟩) changed into [ɛ] and that this pronunciation also won over most of the people who had pronounced [i] as corresponding to ⟨E⟩.[58] This opening change is also otherwise known to be a historical fact.[59]

As this change is established, the continuation, although always infrequent, of Neutralization 4 in prevocalic position throughout the Hellenistic period indicates on the one hand that the sound corresponding to ⟨E⟩ was more closed /_[V] than elsewhere, on the other that ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] corresponded to an e-sound.

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[54] The neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ could not be interpreted this way by Teodorsson 1974: 184 because a merger of /i/ and /e/ was not assumed even for a part of the population (*loc. cit.*, pp. 178 and 286).

[55] Teodorsson 1974: 81.

[56] Cf. also Teodorsson 1974: 79, Var. 3. The concentration of incidence /_[V] to the period ca. 400–350 can perhaps be looked upon as parallel evidence.

[57] Cf. Neutralization 1, above, pp. 58–60.

[58] The hypothetic possibility that /e/ changed in the opposite direction, i.e. into /i/, is precluded by the fact that the neutralizations ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ and ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ become very infrequent at the beginning of the 3rd century. Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 80–81 and 85–89, and further above, Neutralization 3, and below, Neutralization 5.

[59] Cf. above, p. 61.

The unchanging low frequency of neutralization /_[C][60] indicates that the phonetic quality of the tentative /e:/ and /e/ was always different in this position in the phonemic system of most speakers of Attic, since /e:/ changed generally into [i:] /_[C] in the classical period.

5 ⟨H⟩∼⟨E⟩ (*Variations 11–12*)

This graphemic neutralization is very frequent in the 4th century, but quite infrequent in the last three centuries B.C. There are 120 instances certainly or possibly dated in the 4th century, while only 6 instances are safely dated in the 3rd century.[61] Among these 4th century instances there are 72 from strictly private documents, as against 48 from others, although the former group comprises only ca. 4 % of the 4th century corpus.

In the 4th century there are only 9[62] instances of ⟨H⟩ for ⟨E⟩ /_[V] as against 47 elsewhere. Not until about 100 B.C. does variation become equally frequent /_[V].

Conclusions

The conclusive evidence of the graphemic neutralization ⟨H⟩∼⟨I⟩, which is rather frequent in the 5th[63] and 4th centuries, demonstrates that the tentative phoneme /ɛ:/ had changed into [i:] in the 5th century in large groups of Attic speakers. The so-called strictly private documents can be assumed to have been written above all by those speakers. In the three neutralizations, ⟨E⟩∼⟨I⟩, ⟨H⟩∼⟨E⟩, and ⟨H⟩∼⟨I⟩, the proportion of data from that group of documents is oversized during the time down to ca. 300.[64]

It was concluded above (p. 61) that ⟨E⟩ corresponded in the 4th century to [i] in a considerable part of the population. It then seems necessary to assume that the neutralization ⟨H⟩∼⟨E⟩ was to a large extent produced by people whose pronunciation was an i-sound for both graphemes.

On the other hand, this neutralization was natural for speakers who pronounced e-sounds for these graphemes.

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[60] Teodorsson 1974: 81, Var. 5.

[61] Teodorsson 1974: 85–89, Vars. 13–14.

[62] All but two of these come from strictly private documents.

[63] The strong evidence of the documents from the Academy of Plato (Teodorsson 1974: 90, Var. 17,16–19, note) may be decisive.

[64] In the neutralization ⟨H⟩∼⟨I⟩ the proportion of data from this group is moderate in the 4th century.

The rapid decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ after 300 indicates that the sounds corresponding to the two graphemes were then no longer alike. The cause was the ongoing opening process in /e/ at that time, which is also evidenced by the chronological distribution of the neutralizations ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ and ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩: The sound corresponding to ⟨E⟩ became [ɛ] in almost the entire population, while that corresponding to ⟨H⟩ remained [e:][65] (or, in minor groups, [i]).

The few instances of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ (and ⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩) in the Hellenistic period may suggest a more closed pronunciation, possibly [e], corresponding to ⟨E⟩, especially /_[V].

As regards the tentative /ɛ:/ (grapheme ⟨H⟩), the marked decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ after 300 demonstrates that this had changed into [e:] in the 4th century even in the phonemic system of most speakers of the conservative subdialect.

A preserved pronunciation [ɛ:] is suggested by the few instances of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ for a minor group of speakers, provided that the tentative /e/ had opened into [ɛ] in the phonemic system of those people.[66]

6 ⟨H⟩~⟨EI⟩ (*Variations 13–14*)

The distributional pattern of this neutralization is remarkable. Chronologically, there is the very low frequency during the entire space of time before the late 2nd century,[67] and the high frequency in the 1st century B.C. Environmentally, neutralization is almost totally confined to the position before a vowel,[68] but not until 175 B.C. is there an instance in that position. Finally, the incidence of ⟨EI⟩ for ⟨H⟩ is always almost negligible.[69]

Considering that there is decisive evidence showing that the sound corresponding to ⟨EI⟩ /_[C] and ⟨H⟩ was [i:] in a large part of the

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[65] Cf. below, pp. 66–68.

[66] The hypothetic possibility that, in some group of speakers, the sound corresponding to ⟨H⟩ had been [e:] in the 4th century and then, accompanying the short [e] in the opening trend had changed into [ɛ:] is counter-evidenced by the marked decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨E⟩ from the 3rd century.

[67] Teodorsson 1974: 85, Vars. 11–12.

[68] All the three preconsonantal instances of Var. 13 (5, 11, and 21) are marked with the non-phonetic factor (6).

[69] The Ptolemaic data (Teodorsson 1977: 113–116, Vars. 22–23) also show these characteristics. Neutralization is concentrated to the last two centuries B.C., to the position /_[V], and to the variation ⟨H⟩ for ⟨EI⟩.

population as early as in the 5th century,[70] one would expect the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨EI⟩ to be quite frequent from that time onwards, above all /_[C] or /_#. But this is not the case.

It is noticeable that the chronological distribution of the above Var. 13 is almost exactly the same as that of Var. 19.

Conclusions

The insignificant frequency of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨EI⟩ /_[C] or /_# in the 5th and 4th centuries is apparently due to non-phonetic, above all (ortho)graphic, causes. There was a tendency in Attic in that period to generalize the use of ⟨I⟩[71] as a correspondent of the i-sound,[72] which was only natural because the change was in the direction [e(:)]>[i(:)].

The high frequency of Var. 13 from the late 2nd century onwards clearly indicates a similar phonetic quality in the sounds involved. However, since the unchanging low frequency of the neutralizations ⟨H⟩~⟨I⟩[73] and ⟨EI⟩~⟨I⟩ /_[V][74] in the Hellenistic period demonstrates that ⟨H⟩ and ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] did not correspond to an i-sound in Hellenistic Attic unless in a minor group of speakers, the marked increase in the frequency of Var. 13 in the late 2nd century cannot be interpreted as indicating a change into i-quality in the sounds corresponding to ⟨H⟩ and ⟨EI⟩ /_[V].[75] The cause of the sudden increase was then probably non-phonetic, viz. orthographic.

It is well-known that, as early as the beginning of the 4th century, i.e. on the introduction of the Ionic graphemic system, the graphemic

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[70] Teodorsson 1974: 75–80, Vars. 1–3, and 90–92, Vars. 17–19.

[71] This feature is also evident in Ptolemaic Koine, although it is somewhat less marked. The relative frequency of the Ptol. Vars. 2–3 (Teodorsson 1977: 82–98) as against that of Var. 1 (*loc. cit.*: 62–81) is somewhat higher than in the Attic data (Teodorsson 1974: 75–80). This slightly stronger tendency in Ptol. Koine to use ⟨EI⟩ for the i-sound is perhaps the main cause of the comparatively higher frequency of the Ptol. Var. 22 (⟨EI⟩ for ⟨H⟩).

[72] This is also obvious in the neutralization ⟨E⟩~⟨I⟩ (Teodorsson 1974: 79–81, Var. 4 and the ⟨E⟩-instances of Var. 3) in which, after ca. 400, ⟨I⟩ for ⟨E⟩ is more than four times as frequent as ⟨E⟩ for ⟨I⟩.

[73] Below, pp. 67–68.

[74] Above, p. 58.

[75] A change into [ɛ:] is also ruled out, for ⟨H⟩ by the graphic evidence of Neutralization 5 (cf. above, p. 65, n. 66), and for ⟨EI⟩ by the absence of any evidence showing such a change.—Considering the low frequency of Neutralization 5 in the 2nd century, it is also improbable that the tentative /ɛ:/ had been preserved in this phonetic quality in more than a minor subdialect, to change into [e:] in the late 2nd century, producing Var. 13.

sequence ⟨EI⟩ was used more and more frequently instead of ⟨HI⟩ as corresponding to the tentative /ɛ:i/, which had then been monophthongized and narrowed into [e:] or [i:].[76] Then, in the second half of the 2nd century, the old sequence ⟨HI⟩ was suddenly reintroduced.[77] However, since the corresponding sound was a monophthong, which in the majority system of that time was probably an e-sound,[78] similar to that corresponding to ⟨H⟩, ⟨I⟩ was felt superfluous and was thus frequently omitted.[79]

The simultaneous onset of high frequency in Vars. 13 and 19 clearly indicates a common cause. This was the scrupulous endeavour of the writers to duly replace ⟨EI⟩ with ⟨HI⟩, a task they did not entirely manage. Not only did they often omit the ⟨I⟩ (Vars. 13 and 19), but they also occasionally replaced ⟨EI⟩ in the wrong posititon (Vars. 13 and 24, in particular instance 1).

The practically exclusive occurrence of Var. 13 /_[V][80] demonstrates, (a) that ⟨EI⟩ /_[C] corresponded to a sound of another phonetic quality than /_[V], i.e. an i-sound, and, (b) that ⟨H⟩ did not correspond to an i-sound. It is obvious that ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] and ⟨H⟩ corresponded to a quite similar or identical e-sound.

7 ⟨H⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variations 15–16*)

There is a marked decrease of incidence of this graphemic neutralization after 300 as compared with that of the 4th century. In the 3rd century, frequency is almost reduced to one third of the 4th century rate[81] and it is also lower in the 2nd century. Only in the 1st century does the incidence increase again. The insignificant absolute frequency as such (only 2 instances dated with certainty in the 3rd century) also detracts very much from the evidence of this neutralization on the Hellenistic period.

Conclusions

The change [ɛ:] > [e:] had taken place during the classical period, and the continued narrowing into [i:] had spread widely in the population.

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[76] Cf. below, pp. 68–70.

[77] Meisterhans 1900: 36–39; Lademann 1915: 9–29; Henry 1964: 240–245.

[78] Cf. below, p. 69.

[79] Cf. above, pp. 28–32, Var. 19.

[80] Cf. above, p. 65, n. 68.

[81] The instances from strictly private documents were excluded from calculation, and frequency rates are related to the extent of the corpus in the different centuries (cf. above, p 57).

Then the radical decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨I⟩ from the beginning of the 3rd century demonstrates that the proportion of speakers in whose phonemic system ⟨H⟩ corresponded to [e:] had increased rapidly at that time. There is no decisive evidence to show that the subdialect in which ⟨H⟩ corresponded to an i-sound ever regained in Hellenistic times the position it had held in the 4th century.

For further evidence supporting these conclusions, cf. above, Neutralizations 5 and 6, and below, Neutralization 9.

8a ⟨EI⟩~⟨IH⟩ (*Variation 17*)
8b ⟨I⟩~⟨EH⟩ (*Variation 18*)

These infrequent neutralizations are too insignificant to allow evaluation.

9 ⟨HI⟩~⟨H⟩ (*Variations 19–20*)

This neutralization begins as early as the middle of the 6th century, and its frequency is significant above all during the 4th century.[82] Then, in the period ca. 300–ca. 175, there are only a few scattered instances. This is exactly the period of the highest relative frequency of ⟨EI⟩ as against ⟨HI⟩.[83] Then, when ⟨HI⟩ is deliberately reintroduced in the second half of the 2nd century, Neutralization 9 suddenly becomes very frequent.[84] This sudden increase of Var. 19 is synchronous with that of Var. 13 and also of Vars. 25 and 77.

Conclusions

The monophthongization and narrowing of /ɛ:i/ into [i:] is demonstrated by, among others, the graphemic neutralizations ⟨HI⟩~⟨H⟩ and ⟨HI⟩~⟨EI⟩, especially for the 4th century.[85] The fact that the decrease of incidence of ⟨H⟩ for ⟨HI⟩[86] is synchronous with the rapid increase of

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[82] Teodorsson 1974: 92–93, Vars. 20–21.

[83] Henry 1964: 240–245.

[84] The relative frequency of Var. 19 is probably higher than 25 % (cf. above, p. 18, and Lademann 1915: 22–23), especially in the 1st c. However, the inclusion of these data seemed appropriate for the study (cf. also below, p. 79, Var. 77).

[85] Teodorsson 1974: 90–95, Vars. 17–22 and 25–26, and p. 288. Cf. also Meisterhans 1900: 39.

[86] In Ptol. Koine there is no such decrease of frequency of ⟨H⟩ for ⟨HI⟩; cf. Mayser–Schmoll 1970: 103–106.

the use of ⟨EI⟩ instead of ⟨HI⟩ shows that these phenomena are related: The main cause of the decrease of the variant ⟨H⟩ for ⟨HI⟩ is orthographic. This is also true of the sudden increase of Var. 19 in the second half of the 2nd century, which was caused by the reintroduction of ⟨HI⟩ as the orthographic norm in the place of ⟨EI⟩ that had been predominating for about one and a half centuries. It was natural for the writers to substitute ⟨H⟩ for ⟨HI⟩, but not for ⟨EI⟩.[87]

The determination of the phonetic quality of the sound corresponding to ⟨HI⟩ in the Hellenistic period is only possible if the parallel evidence of Neutralizations 1, 6, and 7 is taken into consideration. The synchronous sudden onset of high frequency in Vars. 13 and 19 in the second half of the 2nd century is inconclusive because it is a result of the orthographic change ⟨HI⟩ > ⟨EI⟩ and no phonetic change need be posited as a cause.

The fact that Var. 13 is almost exclusively represented /_[V] evidences an e-sound as a correspondent of ⟨H⟩.[88] In so far as ⟨H⟩ in Var. 13 was actually written for ⟨HI⟩, which is highly probable considering the parallelism of Var. 19, this is also true of ⟨HI⟩. The high frequency evidences the e-pronunciation for the main part of the population.

These conclusions refer to the situation from about the middle of the 2nd century on. There remains the problem of determining the pronunciation for the 3rd century.

The establishment of the new orthographic norm ⟨EI⟩ in the 3rd century clearly indicates the i-pronunciation,[89] while there is no decisive evidence of the e-pronunciation at that time.[90] The safe conclusion is, then, that the i-pronunciation was prevailent even during the 3rd century.

On the other hand, it might seem likely that the e-pronunciation regained its dominating position at the same time in ⟨H⟩ and ⟨HI⟩, i.e. from the beginning of the 3rd century.

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[87] This mechanism was probably the main factor in preventing a higher frequency of the neutralization ⟨H⟩~⟨EI⟩ /_[C] or /_# in the 5th and 4th centuries; cf. Teodorsson 1974: 85, Vars. 11–12, and above, pp. 65–67.

[88] The evidence is derived from the fact that ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] obviously corresponded to an e-sound during the Hellenistic period; cf. above, pp. 58–60, Var. 1.

[89] The extensive graphemic neutralization ⟨HI⟩~⟨EI⟩ in Ptol. Koine was the basis of the conclusion drawn by Teodorsson 1977: 221.

[90] There are only the instances Var. 20,20–21 and 22,7–9 (Teodorsson 1974: 93), in so far as ⟨H⟩ and ⟨E⟩ then corresponded to [e:] and [ɛ] respectively; cf. above, pp. 61–62 and 65–68. Cf. also below, Neutralization 10.

The restoration of the e-pronunciation in ⟨HI⟩ may have taken place only in grammatical morphemes.[91]

10 ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 21*)

In isolation this infrequent graphemic neutralization would be quite insignificant. However, as it can be related to other data it does not altogether lack importance. It is remarkable that there is no instance of this neutralization dated between 248 and 140 B.C.[92] This chronological distribution is paralleled in the neutralizations (⟨E⟩/)⟨EI⟩~⟨H⟩ and ⟨HI⟩~⟨H⟩.[93]

It is observed that there is no graphemic neutralization ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩~⟨E⟩ in Ptolemaic Koine.

Conclusions

In so far as ⟨E⟩ corresponded to a sound of mid quality [e] or [ɛ] in the phonemic system of the writer, Neutralization 10 suggests such a quality also for ⟨HI⟩ in the 2nd and 1st centuries. However, it is noticeable that Var. 7,2–3 come from the same document as Var. 21,2, and thus this instance instead hints at the i-pronunciation.[94] The evidence of Neutralization 10 for the e-pronunciation in ⟨HI⟩ is then very uncertain.

Analogically, the absence of this neutralization in Ptol. Koine indicates the i-pronunciation for that language.[95]

11a ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variation 22*)
11b ⟨HI⟩/⟨EI⟩~⟨IH⟩ (*Variation 23*)
11c ⟨EI⟩~⟨HI⟩ (*Variation 24*)

These neutralizations provide only insignificant further evidence of the i-pronunciation in correspondence to ⟨HI⟩, especially as Var. 24 may have been caused above all by the change of orthography ⟨EI⟩> ⟨HI⟩.[96]

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[91] Cf. Meisterhans 1900: 39.

[92] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 93, Var. 22.

[93] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 85, Vars. 11–12, and 92–93, Vars. 20–21; and further above, pp. 27 and 28–33, Vars. 13 and 19–20.

[94] Cf. above, pp. 60–62, Neutralization 3.

[95] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 221.

[96] Cf. above, pp. 66–67 and 68–69.

12 ⟨AI⟩∼⟨A⟩ (*Variations 25–28*)

Since two separate phonetic changes are involved in the origin of these data, [a:i]>[a:] and [ai]>[æ:]>[ɛ:], Vars. 25–26 and 27–28 respectively must be treated separately as two groups.

The first group is represented as early as ca. 500.[97] The frequency as related to the extent of the corpus[98] is roughly equal during the 5th–3rd centuries, while in the 2nd century there is an increase. In the 1st century the incidence is about 4 times higher than in the 2nd century.

The chronological distribution of Vars. 25–26 is paralleled in the variations ⟨HI⟩∼⟨H⟩ and ⟨ΩI⟩∼⟨Ω⟩.[99]

The concentration of neutralization to the position /_# is due to phonotactic causes.

Conclusions

The graphemic neutralization ⟨AI⟩∼⟨A⟩ as occurring during the 5th–3rd centuries demonstrates that the phonetic change [a:i]>[a:] had been accomplished in a large number of Attic speakers in that period.

The marked increase of frequency of neutralization in the second half of the 2nd century shows that the change had then also spread to the remaining part of the population.

The change was unconditioned.

The diphthong /ai/

Table 3 shows the frequency of Vars. 27–28 and Teodorsson 1974: 97–101, Vars. 35–37. Instances from strictly private documents were not counted.[100] Instances of the morpheme {Πειραι} were included.

Table 3

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	9	88	16	11	8

[97] Teodorsson 1974: 96, Var. 33.

[98] Cf. above, p. 57.

[99] Cf. above, pp. 68–69, and below, pp. 77–78.

[100] Cf. above, p. 57. As to the sorting of instances with an uncertain date, cf. above, p. 58, n. 31.

The rapid decrease of incidence from the beginning of the 3rd century[101] and the following low frequency throughout the Hellenistic period is notable.

Neutralization is most frequent /_(#)[V], except in the 2nd and 1st centuries, where it is most common /_(#)[C]. The latter is also true of Ptol. Koine, where ⟨A⟩ for ⟨AI⟩ is twice as frequent in this position as /_[V].[102]

As to the reasons why omission of ⟨I⟩ in ⟨AI⟩ should be interpreted as evidence of monophthongization of [ai], cf. Teodorsson 1974: 193–197; and 1977: 222–223.

Conclusions

The evidence of an unconditioned change [ai] > [æ:] is decisive in particular for the 4th century. The high frequency of neutralization even in official documents demonstrates that the new monophthong was also widespread among speakers of the conservative subdialect at that time.

Then the reaction set in and succeeded in reversing the trend so that increasing numbers of Attic speakers from the 3rd century onwards pronounced [ai].

The existence of the not infrequent neutralization ⟨AI⟩~⟨A⟩ in correspondence of the tentative /ai/ throughout the Hellenistic period demonstrates that there were considerable groups of speakers who had the monophthongal pronunciation.

13a	⟨AI⟩~⟨H⟩	(*Variation 29*)
13b	⟨AI⟩~⟨E⟩	(*Variation 30*)
13c	⟨AI⟩~⟨EI⟩	(*Variation 31*)
13d	⟨AI⟩~⟨I⟩	(*Variation 32*)
13e	⟨AIE⟩~⟨E⟩	(*Variation 33*)
13f	⟨EIAI⟩~⟨EI⟩	(*Variation 34*)
13g	⟨AI⟩~⟨AII⟩	(*Variation 35*)

All these neutralizations bear upon one and the same phonetic change, the monophthongization of [ai], and may thus be treated as a group.

All but Neutralization 13g occur only *hapax*. This extremely low frequency is significant as negative evidence. In earlier Attic[103] the in-

[101] The change in frequency of ⟨A⟩ for ⟨AI⟩ in the morpheme {Πειραι} is illustrative (Teodorsson 1974: 97, n. 74).

[102] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 127–128, Vars. 35–36.

[103] Teodorsson 1974: 101–103.

cidence is somewhat higher and, as regards the neutralization ⟨AI⟩~⟨I⟩, markedly higher. These neutralizations are also much more frequent in Ptol. Koine.[104]

Since the phonetic quality of /e/ had changed into [ɛ] in the 3rd century,[105] the neutralization ⟨AI⟩~⟨E⟩ can be expected to be frequent, if [ai] was monophthongized into [æ:]. But there is only one instance of Neutralization 13b.

Conclusions

The infrequency of Neutralizations 13a–13f supports the conclusion drawn above, that the monophthongal pronunciation [æ:] was less common in the Hellenistic period than in the 4th century.

Neutralization 13g may be interpreted as indicating the diphthongal pronunciation [ai].

14a ⟨A⟩~⟨H⟩ (*Variations 36–37*)
14b ⟨A⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variations 38–39*)
14c ⟨A⟩~⟨Υ⟩ (*Variation 40*)

It is observed that the long vowel /a:/ is involved in most (three) instances of Neutralization 14a, while only the short vowel /a/ is represented in Neutralization 14b. The isolated instance of Var. 40 lacks evidence.

Conclusions

Because of the low frequency, Neutralizations 14a and 14b respectively provide only insignificant evidence of the open (original) pronunciation of the tentative /ɛ:/, and of the new open phonetic quality [ɛ] of the tentative phoneme /e/.

15a ⟨Υ⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variations 41–42*)
15b ⟨ΥΙ⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variation 43*)
15c ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨ΕΙ⟩~⟨Υ⟩ (*Variation 44*)
15d ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨ΕΙ⟩~⟨Ε⟩ (*Variation 45*)
15e ⟨Υ⟩~⟨Η⟩ (*Variation 46*)

Table 4 shows the frequency of Neutralization 15a and Teodorsson 1974, Neutralization 12,[106] exclusive of instances from strictly private documents.

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[104] Teodorsson 1977: 129–133.
[105] Cf. above, p. 63.
[106] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 103–106, Vars. 49–50.

Table 4

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	8	36	14	10	4

If it is considered that only 4 out of the 14 instances sorted in the 3rd century are dated with certainty after 290, a significant decrease of incidence may have begun soon after that time. It should be observed that 12 out of the 28 instances dating from the time after 300 are found in the morpheme {Μυτιλην}. These are all marked with (Met),[107] which detracts considerably from the evidential value of Neutralization 15a.

Apart from in the morpheme {υἱ}, which was excluded from this study,[108] the tentative /yi/ is very infrequent in the corpus. Thus, only few instances of variation between ⟨ΥΙ⟩ and other graphemes are to be expected. The changes of orthographic norm ⟨ΥΙ⟩ > ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨Υ⟩ > ⟨Υ⟩ during the 6th–4th centuries,[109] and ⟨Υ⟩ > ⟨ΥΙ⟩/⟨ΕΙ⟩ in fem. perf. part. during the 3rd–1st centuries is noticeable.[110]

Conclusions

The decrease of incidence of Neutralization 15a by about the middle of the 3rd century, which continues in the following two centuries, indicates that the proportion of Attic speakers who possessed the phonological opposition /i/:/y/ was greater in the Hellenistic than in the classical period.

The insignificant lexical and textual frequency of /yi/, as well as its occurrence above all in highly integrated grammatical morphemes,[111] are the main causes of the infrequency of Neutralizations 15b–15d. The only safe position is to suppose that ⟨Υ⟩ and ⟨ΥΙ⟩ corresponded to the same sound, either [y(:)] or [i(:)], the latter in the phonemic system of minor groups.

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[107] Cf. above, p. 17.

[108] Cf. Meisterhans 1900: 60; Lademann 1915: 37–40; Henry 1967: 266.

[109] Schwyzer 1939: I 199; Meisterhans 1900: 59–60.

[110] Lademann 1915: 39; Henry 1967: 260. Cf. Meisterhans 1900: 168–169; and Schwyzer 1939: I 474. It is doubtful whether the spelling ⟨ΕΙ⟩ is due to morphological causes or not.

[111] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 40.

16a ⟨OI⟩~⟨O⟩ (*Variations 47–48*)
16b ⟨OI⟩~⟨EI⟩ (*Variation 49*)
16c ⟨OI⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 50*)
16d ⟨OI⟩~⟨AI⟩ (*Variation 51*)

The frequency of Neutralization 16a decreases in the 3rd century,[112] to reach its lowest rate in the 2nd century. Excluding the morpheme {ποι}, Var. 47 is not represented /_[V], and there is only one instance of ⟨O⟩ for ⟨OI⟩[113] in the 3rd century, as against 9 in the 4th century.

Also the supplementary evidence provided by Neutralizations 16b–16d is very insignificant as compared with the corresponding material of the previous centuries.[114]

Conclusion

The evidence of a monophthongal pronunciation in correspondence to ⟨OI⟩ is very insignificant for the Hellenistic period. Only quite small groups of Attic speakers may have used it after the traditional diphthong /oi/ had regained its predominating position in the 3rd century.

17a ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 52*)
17b ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨ϒ⟩ (*Variation 53*)
17c ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EI⟩ (*Variation 54*)
17d ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EϒE⟩ (*Variation 55*)
17e ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨Hϒ⟩ (*Variation 56*)
17f ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EM⟩ (*Variation 57*)
17g ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨OI⟩ (*Variation 58*)
17h ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EOϒ⟩ (*Variation 59*)

No instance of these infrequent neutralizations is dated with certainty in the 1st century, except the *hapax* instance of Neutralization 17h, and this is contrary evidence to the others. At most there may be four 1st century instances, which means a decrease in comparison with the 2nd century rate.

In the corresponding earlier data,[115] which are much more frequent, it is observed that there is only one instance (Var. 87,1) dated with certainty after 250.

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[112] Teodorsson 1974: 108–110, Vars. 61–64.
[113] Teodorsson 1974: 108–109, Vars. 61–62.
[114] Teodorsson 1974: 110–111, Vars. 65–73.
[115] Teodorsson 1974: 113–116, Vars. 81–89.

Conclusions

The phonetic change into a semi-vocalic (or consonantal) quality of the second component of the diphthong /eu/ was widespread in late classical times. This phonetic development was checked and the old diphthongal pronunciation was used again by increasing numbers of Attic speakers. This process seems to have begun in the late 4th century. By about 250 there was only a minority using the progressive pronunciation. There is no evidence that this situation changed during Hellenistic times.

The absence of the neutralizations ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EΦ⟩ and ⟨Eϒ⟩~⟨EB⟩ shows that the tentative /p^h/ and /b/ corresponding to ⟨Φ⟩ and ⟨B⟩ respectively had not changed into fricatives even by the end of the Hellenistic period.

18a ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨A⟩ (*Variation 60*)
18b ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 61*)
18c ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨AE⟩ (*Variation 62*)
18d ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨AI⟩ (*Variation 63*)
18e ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨Oϒ⟩ (*Variation 64*)

There are two marked features of Neutralization 18a, the concentration to the 1st century and to the morphemes {ἑαυτ} and {αὐτ}. This is paralleled in the Ptolemaic data.[116]

There are only scattered instances of ⟨A⟩ for ⟨Aϒ⟩ in classical times.[117] Then there is no instance dated with certainty in the period 337–ca. 130. Only by the middle of the 1st century does the incidence become high.

Conclusions

The primordial stage of the fricativization of the second component of the diphthong /au/ is suggested by the infrequent neutralization ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨A⟩ for the 5th and 4th centuries. The cessation of this neutralization in the late 4th century indicates a retardation of the development for about two centuries. Minor (illiterate) groups of speakers most probably retained the progressive pronunciation during that period.

The onset of high frequency of Neutralization 18a about 50 B.C. shows that the suspended phonetic change was then spreading in the population again. The change was confined to the most frequent morphemes.

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[116] Teodorsson 1977: 143–145, Var. 90. For the question of the supposed existence of a long diphthong /a:u/ in Attic (and Koine), cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 230–231, ns. 256–258.
[117] Teodorsson 1974: 116, Var. 90.

It is not very probable that the renewed onset of the fricativizational development of /au/ in Attic in the 1st century was due to influence from the Koine pronunciation in other parts of the Greek-speaking area, e.g. Alexandria.[118] It is more natural and nearer to hand to assume that the change propagated from minor (illiterate) groups within the Attic community.

The conclusion drawn above (p. 76) about /p^h/ and /b/ is supported by the fact that there are no neutralizations ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨AΦ⟩ or ⟨Aϒ⟩~⟨AB⟩ in Hellenistic Attic.

19a ⟨Oϒ⟩~⟨O⟩ (*Variations 65–66*)
19b ⟨Oϒ⟩~⟨Ωϒ⟩ (*Variation 67*)
19c ⟨O⟩~⟨H⟩ (*Variation 68*)
19d ⟨O⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 69*)
19e ⟨O⟩~⟨ϒ⟩ (*Variation 70*)

All these neutralizations are too infrequent to allow any positive conclusions.

20a ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ (*Variations 71–72*)
20b ⟨O⟩~⟨ΩO⟩ (*Variation 73*)

The two phonetic changes which may have caused Neutralizations 20a–20b are the merger of /ɔ:/ and /o/, and the equalization of vowel length.

There is no decrease of incidence of the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ in the 3rd century,[119] as was the case with a number of other autographemic neutralizations.[120] On the contrary, there is an increase of frequency in that century, considering that the corpus ratio of the 4th and 3rd centuries is 3,66 : 1.[121] The frequency shows a further slight increase in the 2nd century,[122] while there is a decrease in the 1st century.

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[118] See discussion by Teodorsson 1977: 20–21.

[119] Teodorsson 1974: 117–121, Vars. 95–96.

[120] Cf. above, Neutralizations 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12 (Vars. 27–28), 15a, 16a, 17a, 17b, 18a, and below, Neutralizations 21a, 22a, 25, and 32.

[121] Cf. above, p. 57.

[122] It should be noticed, however, that the text of some lost documents, e.g. *IG* II^2 1013 and 1168, are based on rather unreliable copies. Such instances are marked with factor (2); cf. above, p. 15, 3.

Conclusions

The high frequency of the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ in classical times as well as the Hellenistic period demonstrates the phonetic change [ɔ:]>[o:] for the 5th and 4th century. The change was unconditioned and it did not only belong to the innovative subdialect but was also part of the phonemic system of most speakers of the conservative subdialect.

There was no tendency towards restoration of the old pronunciation in the Hellenistic period. On the contrary, the new pronunciation seems to have spread even more from the 3rd century on.

The problem of equalization of vowel length is treated below, pp. 82–84.

21a ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨OI⟩ (*Variations 74–75*)
21b ⟨OΥ⟩~⟨OI⟩ (*Variation 76*)

Considering the infrequency and many markings with factor (2),[123] the Hellenistic neutralization ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨OI⟩ is quite insignificant. This is different from the situation in the 4th century when this neutralization was frequent.[124] The decrease of frequency in the 3rd century is marked.

It is observed that this chronological distribution is largely parallel to that of the neutralizations ⟨OI⟩~⟨O⟩ and ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨Ω⟩,[125] except that the latter increases very markedly again in the second half of the 2nd century.[126] That these two neutralizations begin earlier than ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨OI⟩ is natural, because omission of one component of a graphemic sequence corresponding to a diphthong is the most likely result of monophthongization.[127]

Conclusions

The extensive parallelism in the chronological distribution of the neutralizations ⟨OI⟩~⟨O⟩, ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨OI⟩, and ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨Ω⟩ indicates that their phonetic causes are related. All of them are the result of monoph-

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[123] Cf. above, n. 122.

[124] Teodorsson 1974: 121–122, Vars. 98–99.

[125] Teodorsson 1974: 108–110, Vars. 61–64, especially Var. 63; and pp. 123–124, Vars. 106–107, especially Var. 107. For the sake of comparability, instances from strictly private documents (marked (1)) should not be counted; cf. above, p. 57.

[126] Cf. above, pp. 44–45. Cf. also the similar chronological distribution of the neutralization ⟨AI⟩~⟨A⟩ corresponding to /a:i/ (Teodorsson 1974: 96–97, Vars. 33–34; and above pp. 33–34).

[127] Cf. above, p. 72.

thongizations, namely [oi]>[ɵ:], and [ɔ:i]>[ɔ:], which propagated particularly rapidly in the 4th century.

From the beginning of the 3rd century the trend was reverted. The proportion of speakers with the diphthongal pronunciation in /ɔ:i/ as well as /oi/ increased markedly.

22a ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨Ω⟩ (*Variations 77–78*)
22b ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨ΩII⟩ (*Variation 79*)

Var. 77 can be supposed to attain a relative frequency higher than 25 %[128] but was included in the data to show the chronological distribution to a full extent. Table 5 shows the chronological distribution of the neutralization ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨Ω⟩.

Table 5

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	4	19	3	80	59

The striking increase of frequency in the 4th, as well as the following rapid decrease in the 3rd century are highly significant features. The 2nd century data are concentrated to the latter half of the century.

It is observed that there is no Attic graphemic neutralization ⟨ΩI⟩~⟨O⟩.[129]

Conclusions

The conspicuous fluctuations in the frequency of Neutralization 22a demonstrate, (a) that the monophthongization [ɔ:i]>[ɔ:] propagated rapidly in the population during the 4th century, (b) that this process stopped and the diphthongal pronunciation regained a dominating position in the period 300–150, (c) that a renewed onset of propagation of the monophthongal pronunciation started about 150 and spread rapidly to comprise almost the entire population.

[128] Cf. above, p. 18.

[129] In Ptol. Koine there is such a neutralization (Teodorsson 1977: 168–169, Vars. 114–115; and pp. 235–236).

The negative evidence of the non-existence of a neutralization ⟨ΩI⟩ ~ ⟨O⟩, while there is a frequent neutralization ⟨Ω⟩ ~ ⟨O⟩ (above, Neutralization 20a), is significant and indicates that the monophthong resulting from the change [ɔ:i] > [ɔ:] did not close into [o:].

23a ⟨Ω⟩ ~ ⟨A⟩ (*Variations 80–81*)
23b ⟨Ω⟩ ~ ⟨AI⟩ (*Variation 82*)
23c ⟨ΩI⟩ ~ ⟨AI⟩ (*Variations 83–84*)

The infrequency of these neutralizations precludes any positive conclusions.

24 ⟨α⟩ ~ ⟨αα⟩ (*Variation 85*)

The *hapax* instance of this neutralization is of course negligible.

25 ⟨α⟩ ~ ⟨Ø⟩ (*Variation 86*)

The chronological distribution of this graphemic neutralization[130] is interesting because it is similar to that found in Neutralization 32,[131] as well as to that of a large number of other neutralizations.[132] The marked decrease of frequency in the 3rd century is a common feature.

Table 6

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	19	38	8	29	22

There are few significant patterns to be discerned in this neutralization. One is omission of ⟨I⟩ /_[V], another is omission of ⟨α⟩ elsewhere in correspondence to unaccentuated, long or short, vowels. Table 7 shows the distribution. Autographemes corresponding to accentuated vowels were counted for comparison.

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[130] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 126–131, Vars. 113–114.
[131] Below, p. 89, Table 13.
[132] Cf. above, p. 77, n. 120.

Table 7

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Omissions of					
⟨I⟩ /_[V(:)]	2	7	3	6	4
⟨α⟩, except ⟨I⟩ /_[V(:)], corresponding to unaccentuated [V(:)]	12	21	5	20	13
⟨α⟩ corresponding to accentuated [V(:)]	6	9	–	3	5

Neutralization 25 is represented in the 2nd and 1st centuries by 13 instances /_[V] as against 34 /_[C]. Ten out of the 13 prevocalic instances are omissions of ⟨I⟩, while among the preconsonantal instances there are only 9 omissions of this grapheme. This higher frequency of omission of ⟨I⟩ /_[V] is also found in the earlier data; before 200 there are only 3 instances of omission of other autographemes than ⟨I⟩ in that position.[133]

The rapid increase of incidence of omission of ⟨α⟩ corresponding to unaccentuated vowels in the 2nd century, after the decrease in the 3rd century, is to be observed.

The difference between the 4th and the 3rd century rate of omission of ⟨α⟩ corresponding to accentuated vowels is striking and important, seeing that there is no demonstrable phonetic cause of the cessation.

Conclusions

The chronological distribution of Neutralization 25 conforms with that of Neutralization 32 (omission of syngraphemes) as well as with that of numerous other graphemic neutralizations. In most of those neutralizations the common feature, the decrease of incidence in the 3rd century, can be explained as due to changes in the proportion of speakers of different subdialects.

Only if this interpretation is impossible as an explanation of the changed frequency of a given phenomenon should a non-phonetic cause be assumed. This was the case with Neutralizations 6 and 9.[134] In Neutralization 25 omission of autographemes corresponding to accentuated vowels cannot possibly be explained as due to any specific phonetic cause. The cessation of omission on this point in the 3rd century (cf.

[133] Instances from strictly private documents (cf. Teodorsson 1974: 56, and above, p. 57) were not counted.

[134] Above, pp. 65–67, and 68–70.

Table 7) is then probably due to another cause. This may be supposed to be an intensified orthographic control and an improved orthographic competence in the writers.[135]

The frequent omission of ⟨I⟩ /_[V] indicates a conditioned change in [i], namely a palatalization into a semi-vocalic quality [j]. That the change was independent of accent is seen in the fact that 4 out of the 10 instances of omission of ⟨I⟩ /_[V] are found in accentuated syllables.

The change began in the 5th century[136] and seems to have propagated continuously during the following centuries.

In Ptolemaic Koine the prevocalic palatalization of [i] is well documented.[137]

The omission of autographemes corresponding to unaccentuated vowels probably indicates a weaker, less distinct, pronunciation in this position. This may be due to stress on the accentuated syllable. If the data should be interpreted in this way, they indicate a gradual change from a type of accent dominated by pitch into one that became more and more characterized by stress. The development of this accent perhaps went on more slowly in the 3rd than in the 4th century. In the 2nd century the new type of accent appears to have spread again.

Vowel length

The following orthographic variations are relevant to the equalization of vowel length: 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 56, 59, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, and 85.

Table 8 shows the chronological distribution of these variations. Instances from strictly private documents were not counted.[138]

Table 8

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	21	254	75	87	48

[135] This problem is discussed further below, p. 106.

[136] Earliest instances Teodorsson 1974, Var. 113,5 (500/475) and 24 (408/6); Var. 114,63 (408/7).

[137] Mayser–Schmoll 1970: 126–127; and Teodorsson 1977: 237, n. 270.

[138] Instances with an uncertain date are sorted according to the convention stated above, p. 58, n. 31.

The comprehensive survey of Table 8 shows no period of decrease of frequency in the data during the space of time comprised by the investigations; the slight decrease in the 1st century is insignificant. Instead, after the very rapid increase of frequency in the 4th century, there seems to be a slight increase of frequency even during the 3rd and 2nd centuries. However, this is only due to the lasting high frequency of the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩,[139] while in all other variations represented in the survey, which are frequent enough to be studied statistically, there is a marked decrease in the 3rd century.

It is obvious that due attention must be paid to the fact that other phonetic changes are involved beside the equalization of vowel length in the origin of the data treated here. Thus, if all tolerably frequent orthographic variations relevant to vowel length show a quite similar chronological distribution, while the two forming the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ deviate from this pattern, the cause of this deviation cannot be the equalization of vowel length, because this overall phonetic change must be supposed to contribute rather equally to the frequency of relevant orthographic variations.

The variation ⟨E⟩ for ⟨EI⟩, which is very frequent in classical times, especially in the 4th century,[140] and was thus not included in Teodorsson 1974, is probably not very evidential of the problem of vowel length, because the tendency of shortening long vowels /_[V] was certainly an essential factor in its origin.

Conclusions

On the one hand, the special chronological distribution of the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ in relation to other frequent data relevant to the problem of vowel length indicates a specific cause. This is the merger of the sounds corresponding to those graphemes into one identical o-sound.[141] The lasting high frequency of the neutralization ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ throughout the Hellenistic period indicates that the phonological opposition /ɔ/ : /o/ was lost in the 4th century in almost all speakers of Attic so that it could never recover its position as part of the majority system.

On the other hand, the overall pattern of high frequency in the 4th, followed by the decrease in the 3rd century, in the other data bearing

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[139] Teodorsson 1974: 117–121, Vars. 95–96; and further above, pp. 42–43, Vars. 71–72, and 77–78.

[140] Cf. Meisterhans 1900: 40–44.

[141] Cf. above, p. 78.

upon the equalization of vowel length shows that the proportion of speakers lacking the phoneme /:/ became smaller in the third century, to remain so throughout Hellenistic times. This conclusion receives especially strong support by the great difference in frequency between Vars. 2 and 3 during the 2nd and 1st centuries.[142] This evidence of the Hellenistic Vars. 2 and 3 eliminates the supposition that the homogeneous chronological distribution pattern in the variations bearing upon the equalization of vowel length might be due above all to the qualitative phonetic changes also evidenced by that pattern.

26 ⟨Π⟩~⟨Φ⟩ (*Variation 87*)

The infrequency of Neutralization 26 and the absence of related neutralizations, e.g. with ⟨B⟩ as one part, is evidential as such. So is also the fact that there is only the instance Var. 87,1 to suggest the disappearance of the phoneme /h/ (MG [Ø]).

The known changes [p^h]>[Φ] and [b]>[β] are rephonologizations[143] and, as such, are not likely to produce much graphemic neutralization, especially as there are few graphemes available for that. The only alternative of the traditional orthography is actually variation with ⟨Υ⟩, but above all in the sequences ⟨ΕΥ⟩ and ⟨ΑΥ⟩. The absence of such neutralizations as ⟨ΕΥ⟩~⟨ΕΦ⟩, ⟨ΕΥ⟩~⟨ΕΒ⟩ etc.[144] is thus important evidence.

Conclusions

There is no evidence of the fricativization changes in the phonemes /p^h/ and /b/ in Attic during the Hellenistic period.

There is no evidence in Neutralization 26 to show the disappearance of /h/ in pre-Christian Attic, except in quite small groups of speakers.

27 ⟨Τ⟩~⟨Θ⟩ (*Variation 88*)

The occurrence in only two morphemes and in nearly one and the same environment makes this neutralization very insignificant.

The absence of neutralizations with ⟨Δ⟩ as one part is to be noticed.

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[142] Cf. above, pp. 21–24 and 58.

[143] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 166–167

[144] Cf. above, pp. 76 and 77.

Conclusions

There is no evidence of fricativization changes in the phonemes /t^h/ and /d/ in Attic during the Hellenistic period.

The disappearance of /h/ is suggested only vaguely by Neutralization 27, considering its limited distribution.

28a ⟨K⟩~⟨X⟩ (*Variations 89–90*)
28b ⟨Γ⟩~⟨K⟩ (*Variations 91–92*)
28c ⟨Γ⟩~⟨Ø⟩ (*Variation 93*)
28d ⟨Γ⟩~⟨I⟩ (*Variation 94*)
28e ⟨Γ⟩~⟨E⟩ (*Variation 95*)

The general low frequency, the small number of morphemes represented, and the absence of a neutralization ⟨X⟩~⟨Γ⟩, or ⟨X⟩~⟨Ø⟩, are features to be observed when evaluating these neutralizations.

Conclusions

There is no evidence of a fricativization change in /k^h/ in Attic in the pre-Christian era.

As regards the phoneme /g/, Neutralizations 28c–28e suggest for the time before ca. 130 B.C. that insignificant groups of Attic speakers used the fricative pronunciation [ɣ].

No further evidence bearing upon /h/ is provided by Neutralization 28a.

29a ⟨Ξ⟩~⟨X⟩ (*Variation 96*)
29b ⟨Ξ⟩~⟨Σ⟩ (*Variations 97–98*)
29c ⟨Ξ⟩~⟨Z⟩ (*Variation 99*)
29d ⟨Ψ⟩~⟨Φ⟩ (*Variations 100–101*)

Only Neutralization 29b is frequent enough to have some significance. It is observed that this neutralization is represented by only two instances in Ptolemaic Koine,[145] while its Attic counterpart is about four times as frequent.[146] This difference is probably a reflex of a particular pronunciation of the tentative phonemic sequence /ks/, possibly [s(s)]. This pronunciation was perhaps used only by minor groups.

In /ps/ there was no corresponding assimilation in Hellenistic times.

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[145] Teodorsson 1977: 189, Var. 167.

[146] The extent of the corpuses is almost equal; cf. Teodorsson 1977: 56, and above, p. 17.

30a ⟨Z⟩~⟨Σ⟩ (*Variations 102–103*)
30b ⟨Z⟩~⟨ΣZ⟩ (*Variation 104*)

The phonetic change to be expected to underlie these graphemic neutralizations is [zd] (or [dz])>[z(:)] (MG /z/). This change was a phonologization. Provided that ⟨Σ⟩ corresponded to [z] before a voiced consonant, neutralization is most likely in that position. This higher frequency is also found in Var. 103, but only thanks to the overrepresentation of the morpheme {Σμυρν}. Otherwise, the frequency of both neutralizations is rather insignificant in all positions.[147]

It is observed that there is no neutralization between ⟨Z⟩ (⟨Σ⟩) and ⟨Δ⟩ or ⟨T⟩[148] neither in the Attic of the Hellenistic period, nor in Ptolemaic Koine.

Conclusions

The rather low frequency of Neutralizations 30a and 30b outside the morpheme {Σμυρν} in the Hellenistic period is not reason enough to doubt that the new phoneme /z/ was part of the phonemic system of most Attic speakers, seeing that there are no other neutralizations to provide counter-evidence to this conclusion.

The former allophone [z] of the phoneme /s/ before a voiced consonant had become a member of the new phoneme /z/.

31 ⟨σσ⟩~⟨σ⟩ (*Variations 105–106*)

The positional pattern of this graphemic neutralization in the 2nd and 1st centuries is shown in Table 9, while the chronological distribution is studied in Table 10.

Table 9

Position[149]	Var. 105	Var. 106
[V]_[V]	31	9
[V]_[t]	11	9
[V]_[k]		4
[V]_[t^h]		1
[V]_[l]	1	
[V]_[r]		2
[V]_[m]		1
[V]_#		1

[147] The corresponding Ptolemaic data are frequent (Teodorsson 1977: 190–191, Vars. 172–175).

[148] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 140, Vars. 155–160.

[149] Word boundary is considered only if it coincides with sentence boundary.

Table 10

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	42[150]	100	44	37	33

The equalization of consonant length (dephonologization) can be expected to result in a frequent neutralization ⟨σσ⟩∼⟨σ⟩. This high frequency is also found, but without the culmination in the 4th century that characterizes most other Attic graphemic neutralizations. In the 3rd century as a whole there is an increase of frequency. However, this applies only to the first half, considering that there are only 11 instances dated with certainty in the second half of the century, which means a marked decrease. Then, in the 2nd century, the incidence becomes higher again, and this trend continues in the 1st century.

The predominance of neutralization /[V]_[V] is to be expected for phonotactic reasons, but this does not detract from the evidential value. On the contrary, these intervocalic instances are unconditioned and are thus the most evidential ones. In addition, they cannot be explained as due to dislocation of syllable boundary, which is a possible cause of origin in many other positions.[151]

It is observed that all syngraphemes that occur doubled are represented in Neutralization 31.

Conclusions

The equalization of consonant length is clearly evidenced for classical as well as Hellenistic Attic by the neutralization ⟨σσ⟩∼⟨σ⟩, represented by fairly equally frequent variations in both directions. The especially high frequency of neutralization /[V]_[V] is decisive evidence for this conclusion, because no other cause of origin of neutralization in this position can be stated.

The widespread environmental distribution of this neutralization documented for the classical period,[152] together with the fact that all

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[150] The time before 425 could not be comprised by Var. 178 (Teodorsson 1974: 70 and 145).

[151] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 234, especially n. 212.

[152] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 232, Tables 2 and 3.

syngraphemes that occur doubled are represented, demonstrates that the change was not conditioned.

There is no point of time when the change [C:] > [C] can be said to have made a break-through in the population. The decrease of frequency of the neutralization ⟨σσ⟩ ~ ⟨σ⟩ in the second part of the 3rd century forms a short downward trend. This may be due exclusively to a more rigorous control of orthography in that century,[153] but its synchrony with the decrease of most other neutralizations indicates that the proportion of speakers possessing the opposition /C_1:/ : /C_1/ may have been greater in the period 250–200 than before and after that time.

32 ⟨σ⟩ ~ ⟨Ø⟩ (*Variation 107*)

Table 11

Position	Grapheme omitted								
	⟨T⟩	⟨K⟩	⟨B⟩	⟨Δ⟩	⟨Λ⟩	⟨P⟩	⟨M⟩	⟨N⟩	⟨Σ⟩
[p]_[r]	2								
[V]_[p]						1	1		
[t]_[V]						1			
[V]_[t]						1		2	1
[k]_[V]					3				
[V]_[k^h]		1							
[V]_[b]							1		
[d]_[V]						2			
[V]_[d]								2	
[g]_[V]					1				
[V]_[g]						1			
[l]_[V]	1								
[n]_[V]	1								
[s]_[V]	1								
[V]_[V]	1			2	1			2	1
#_[p^h]									1
#_[V]		2	1						
[V]_#								7	11

Table 11 shows the positional pattern of omission of syngraphemes in the 2nd and 1st centuries. It is not possible to establish any new structures in these data, but rather the picture is similar to that of this neutralization in previous times. Thus, Neutralization 32 does not suggest

[153] Cf. above, pp. 81–82.

any particular phonetic change as starting or developing in the last two centuries B.C.

However, when comparing the situation in the 4th century[154] with that in the following three centuries it is observed that several types of omission become radically less frequent in the 3rd century, to remain infrequent throughout the Hellenistic period, while other types regain their frequency rate in the 2nd or 1st century. The development can be studied in Table 12.

Table 12

Omitted grapheme in position	Number of instances[155] in period			
	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
⟨N⟩ /_[t]	11	1	–	2
⟨N⟩ /_#	18	1	1	6
⟨Σ⟩ /_#	19	2	9	2
⟨T⟩ /[s]_	5	–	1	–
⟨N⟩ /[V]_	33	4	4	9
⟨Σ⟩ /[V]_	21	3	9	4

The great difference of incidence of omission between the 4th and the 3rd century in the graphemes and positions studied in Table 12 determines the total distribution rates of this neutralization in these centuries; cf. Table 13.

Table 13

Period	499–400	399–300	299–200	199–100	99–1
Corpus pages	800	1 980	540	585	405
Instances	37	87	18	28	24

Conclusions

The types of omission represented in Table 12 are relevant to defined phonetic changes, the loss of final postvocalic [n] and [s], assimilation or loss of [n] /_[stop], and a peculiar pronunciation of the sequence [str].[156]

[154] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 235–238, Tables 1 and 2.

[155] Instances from strictly private documents (cf. above, p. 57) were not counted.

[156] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 239–242.

The marked difference of incidence of omission in the 4th and 3rd centuries is due above all to these phonetic causes, i.e., these changes developed during the 5th and 4th centuries, while in the 3rd century the process was checked so that a smaller proportion of Attic speakers used the new pronunciation on these points. The tendency to drop final [s] propagated again already in the 2nd century, while the loss of final [n] seems to have become more common again in the 1st century.

Chapter 4

PHONEMIC ANALYSIS

General Observations

The phonetic data established in Chapter 3 constitute no entirely solid basis for a phonemic analysis, because they mediate spoken sound via orthographic data. Nevertheless, in the absence of records of spoken sound as well as scientific descriptions of the phonetic pattern of the dialect to be reconstructed, these orthographic data form the most reliable evidence available. This is because they are largely, i.e. as far as they are phonetically caused, the direct output of the graphonomic and phonographonomic competence of the writers.[157]

There are two factors to determine the incidence of phonetically caused non-normal orthographic variants in a corpus of historical documents, (1) the quality of the writers' graphonomic and phonographonomic competence, i.e. the degree of internalization of graphonomic and phonographonomic rules, and (2) the proportion of writers in the language community using a certain phonemic subsystem, exclusively or parallel with another, coexistent one.

(1) An improved graphonomic and phonographonomic competence in the writers, i.e. a better knowledge of orthography, will reduce the frequency of orthographic variation universally in their text output. Differences in the degree of reduction of frequency between various types of variations are possible as results of intensive training, or defective training, producing especially good, or deficient, competence respectively in particular rules.

(2) Changes in the phonemic system of the writers, either through the addition of rules to any writer's competence during his lifetime, or over the generations, will affect the incidence of orthographic variation in the points concerned, given an unchanged general level of graphonomic and phonographonomic competence in the writing people.

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[157] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 38–42.

As was observed above in Chapter 3, the Attic orthographic data show some distinct features. These are

(a) early onset (6th c.) of a number of phonetically relevant orthographic variations,

(b) marked increase of frequency of these, or onset of new orthographic variations by the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century,

(c) rapid and, in many cases, radical decrease of frequency in the 3rd century of most variations with a considerable or high frequency in the 4th century, but

(d) no decrease of frequency of the graphemic neutralizations ⟨EI⟩~⟨I⟩ /_[C], and ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩,

(e) massive increase again in the 2nd or 1st century of a number of orthographic variations, while

(f) some orthographic variations, which were frequent in the 5th and/or 4th century, remain infrequent from the 3rd century throughout the Hellenistic period.

To explain the origin of this pattern it is necessary to assume that there existed at least two subsystems within the phonology of Attic. This assumption can be shown to be correct by trying to explain the orthographic variation pattern of Attic as due exclusively to variation in the quality of the graphonomic and phonographonomic competence of the writers in different periods and/or rules. The decrease of incidence of orthographic variation in the 3rd century would then, if due to this supposed[158] improved competence only, be found universally in all significantly frequent variations. But this is not the case. The absence of a decrease in the frequency of ⟨EI⟩~⟨I⟩ /_[C], and of ⟨Ω⟩~⟨O⟩ shows that the phonological foundation, i.e. the phonological oppositions /e:/ : /i:/ /_[C], and /ɔ:/ : /o/, for the correct use of the relevant phonographonomic rules, was lacking, so that the writers could not, in spite of their good phonographonomic competence, avoid failures. It cannot be supposed, of course, that the internalization of the rules (orthographic training) had been insufficient in exactly these highly frequent parts of the system.

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[158] Strictly speaking the only manifest evidence of a generally improved phonographonomic (orthographic) competence in the 3rd century is the decrease of incidence in those types of omission of autographemes that cannot possibly be related to phonetic causes; cf. above, pp. 81–82. Cf. further below, pp. 105–106.

The failure to reduce the frequency of these two graphemic neutralizations in the context of the overall pattern of reduction of neutralization in the 3rd century shows that, on the one hand, there still existed in the 4th century a largely unchanged conservative phonemic system used by a considerable number of Attic speakers[159] but that, on the other hand, this system had undergone two important changes, namely [e:] > [i:] /_[C] and [ɔ:] > [o:].

These changes originate from the innovative popular phonemic system. The origin and propagation of this system during the 6th–4th centuries is evidenced by extensive and largely frequent orthographic variations relevant to defined phoneme-grapheme correspondences. The survival of this innovative system during the 3rd and the former half of the 2nd century is demonstrated by the existence in this period of practically all these variations, although represented by only scattered instances,[160] and by the renewed high frequency of several of these same variations in the last part of the Hellenistic period.

There is good reason to suppose that most users of the conservative and the innovative subsystems respectively were more or less competent in at least one variant of the other subsystem and thus possessed two coexistent systems. "The speech of monolingual natives of some languages is comprised of more than one phonemic system; the simultaneously existing systems operate partly in harmony and partly in conflict."[161] This situation is found in language communities using more than one synchronous linguistic norm, which is a common phenomenon.[162] The relative prestige of the competing systems is decisive of their propagation.[163] When a variant is accepted and receives the support of increasing numbers of language users it may establish itself as the one possessing the highest prestige. The acceptance and positive marking

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[159] The existence of the conservative phonemic system is attested for the classical as well as for much later times by extensive secondary evidence, although this is often only indirectly relevant to Attic; cf. Teodorsson 1974: 243–281.

[160] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 172–173, *Principle 3*, and further discussion below, pp. 99–103.

[161] Fries and Pike 1949: 29.

[162] "In the process of change from one phonemic system to a different phonemic system of the same language, there may be a time during which parts of the two systems exist simultaneously and in conflict within the speech of single individuals" (Fries and Pike 1949: 41). For empirical verification of this assumption, see references below, pp. 107–111.

[163] "Before a phoneme can spread from word to word ... it is necessary that one of the two rivals shall acquire some sort of prestige" (Sturtevant 1947: 81).

of a given speech variant is the outcome of sociolinguistic processes.[164] These are apparently part of more general socio-psychological mechanisms determining preferences in fashion in various spheres of human behavior.

The Attic orthographic data indicate that there existed a competitative rivalry between the two main subsystems of phonology. During the 5th and the first half of the 4th century the innovative popular phonemic system was gaining more and more prestige and, consequently, spread rapidly in the population. Its origin in the lower social classes is evidenced by the primary occurrence of relevant orthographic variations in strictly private documents. From the late 5th century on these variations are also found more or less frequently in official documents.

This trend seems to have been counteracted at least from the last quarter of the 4th century. The prestige of the conservative subsystem was strengthened and more and more Attic speakers preferred it to the innovative one. The results of this reaction and restoration are seen in the orthographic data of the 3rd century in particular and of the last three pre-Christian centuries in general.

The reaction succeeded in checking most phonetic changes for the entire Hellenistic period, while others could only be repressed for about 100–150 years.

Development of the Two Phonemic Subsystems of Attic

The development of the two phonemic subsystems of Attic can be studied by establishing synchronic phoneme inventories, for different stages. As approximative chronological points for these stages the middle of each century was chosen, ca. 350, ca. 250, ca. 150, and ca. 50 B.C.

The conservative subsystem

CA. 350
Vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, y/
Consonants: /p, t, k, b, d, g, p^h, t^h, k^h, s, z, h, l, r, m, n/
Length: /:/
Accent: /'/

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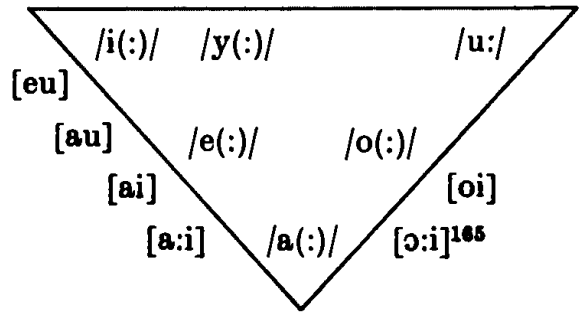
[164] Cf. Pulgram 1962: 733.

Vowel system:



After the changes in the vowel system the phoneme-grapheme correspondences were the following:

Vowel(s)	Autographeme(s)
/i:/	⟨I⟩, ⟨EI⟩ /_{⟨σ⟩}
/i/	⟨I⟩
/e:/	⟨EI⟩ /_⟨α⟩, ⟨H⟩, ⟨HI⟩
/e/	⟨E⟩
/a(:)/	⟨A⟩
/o:/	⟨Ω⟩[166]
/o/	⟨O⟩
/u:/	⟨Oϒ⟩
/u/	⟨ϒ⟩ /⟨α⟩_
/y(:)/	⟨ϒ⟩, ⟨ϒI⟩
/ai/	⟨AI⟩
/oi/	⟨OI⟩
/a:i/	⟨AI⟩
/ɔ:i/	⟨ΩI⟩
/eu/	⟨Eϒ⟩
/au/	⟨Aϒ⟩

One consonant-syngrapheme correspondence had changed:

/z/	⟨Z⟩

The change /ɛ:/ > /e:/ had probably been an important factor of the corresponding change /ɔ:/ > /o:/ on the back axis.

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[165] The sound [ɔ] was a combinatory allophone of the phoneme /o/, occurring in the long diphthong [ɔ:i] only.

[166] The cautious position taken by Teodorsson 1974: 292 that the phonological opposition /ɔ/ : /o/ remained intact ca. 350 could be abandoned in the light of the Hellenistic data.

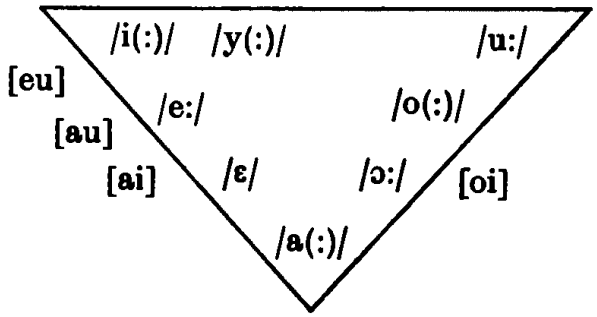
A minor conservative subsystem preserved /ɛ:/ (grapheme ⟨H⟩) and perhaps the original phonemic correspondence of ⟨Z⟩.

CA. 250
The system established above for the time ca. 350 had undergone only one change, /e/ > /ɛ/ (grapheme ⟨E⟩). The change was probably furthered by the vast space between /e(:)/ and /a(:)/.

CA. 150
At least in a minor variant two changes had taken place, /a:i/ > /a:/ and /ɔ:i/ > /ɔ:/. Otherwise there had been no change.

CA. 50
The monophthongization of the two long diphthongs, /a:i/ and /ɔ:i/, had been accomplished in the whole dialect. The new phoneme /ɔ:/ established itself as a back counterpiece of /ɛ/ (grapheme ⟨E⟩) on the front axis.

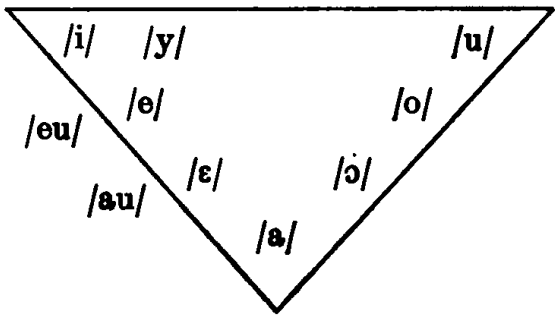
Vowel system:



The innovative subsystem

CA. 350
Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, y/
Consonants: /p, t, k, b, d, g, p^h, t^h, k^h, s, z, h, l, r, m, n/
Accent: /'/

Vowel system:



Phoneme-grapheme correspondences:

/i/ ⟨I⟩, ⟨EI⟩ /_{ᵒ}, ⟨H⟩, ⟨HI⟩, ⟨ϒ⟩, ⟨ϒI⟩
/e/ ⟨E⟩, ⟨EI⟩ /_⟨α⟩
/ɛ/ ⟨AI⟩
/a/ ⟨A⟩, ⟨AI⟩
/ɔ/ ⟨ΩI⟩
/o/ ⟨O⟩, ⟨Ω⟩
/u/ ⟨Oϒ⟩, ⟨ϒ⟩ /⟨α⟩_
/y/ ⟨OI⟩
/z/ ⟨Z⟩

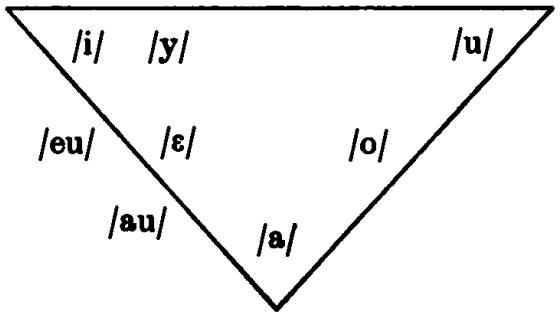
The length phoneme had been lost in all variants of the innovative subsystem.

The main variant of this subsystem probably preserved the e-pronunciation of the sound corresponding to ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] and ⟨E⟩.

In one important variant of this system ⟨E⟩ corresponded to /i/, while ⟨EI⟩ /_[V] corresponded to /e/.

In an extreme variant of the innovative subsystem this latter may not have been the case, i.e., this variant may have lacked the phoneme /e/. Furthermore, the opposition /o/ : /ɔ/ had probably been lost as a result of the change /e/ > /i/, to equalize the functional load of the front and the back axes respectively.

The vowel system of this variant was probably the following:



Phoneme-grapheme correspondences:

/i/ ⟨I⟩, ⟨EI⟩, ⟨E⟩, ⟨H⟩, ⟨HI⟩, ⟨ϒ⟩, ⟨ϒI⟩
/ɛ/ ⟨AI⟩
/a/ ⟨A⟩, ⟨AI⟩
/o/ ⟨O⟩, ⟨Ω⟩, ⟨ΩI⟩
/u/ ⟨Oϒ⟩, ⟨ϒ⟩ /⟨α⟩_
/y/ ⟨OI⟩

In one variant of the innovative subsystem the phoneme /h/ had disappeared. Evidence for this is the variation ⟨H⟩~⟨Ø⟩ in the late 5th century.[167]

The change /g/>/ɤ/ had also been accomplished in the speech of a considerable number of users of the innovative system.

In all variants of the innovative subsystem the second component of the diphthongs /eu/ and /au/ was probably a semi-vocalic sound [w] (allophone of /u/).

CA. 250

In all but the extreme variant of the innovative subsystem the sound corresponding to ⟨E⟩ had opened into /ɛ/.

The proportion of speakers using the extreme variant had been reduced very considerably and continued to decrease.

CA. 150 and CA. 50

There is no evidence of any specific change in the innovative system during the last two centuries of the Hellenistic period.

From about the last third of the 4th century down to about the middle of the 2nd century the proportion of speakers using the innovative subsystem decreased and remained small. In the last one and a half centuries of the Hellenistic period one feature of the innovative system, the monophthongization of /a:i/ and /ɔ:i/, spread to the whole population. This is perhaps an indication of a generally strenghtened position of the innovative subsystem in that period.

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[167] Cf. Teodorsson 1974: 143–145, Vars. 176–177, and 229–231.

Chapter 5

CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The structure, variation, and evolution of the Attic phonological system as analysed in Chapters 3 and 4 were induced almost exclusively from the systematic and extensive study of the orthographic patterns of the dialect. The secondary material was also included,[168] although not in total, but it provided only scarce evidence, especially of the innovative subsystem, which was the primary object of investigation.

This event was expected. Not even loanwords and orthophonic statements, which are probably the most evidential kinds of secondary evidence, can offer more than fragmentary, often ambiguous, and superficial information. A common feature of these two sources is traditionality, i.e., reference is generally to more or less conservative, contemporary or historical, language forms. A feature common to all kinds of secondary material is ill-defined reference. It is mostly uncertain, or quite unknown, to which dialect or subsystem a given piece of information refers.

The idea of the generally limited value of the secondary material can perhaps be most manifestly materialized by imagining a historical language not documented in writing but known only through secondary information in other, contemporary and later, languages. To reconstruct the phonemic system and describe the phonological development of that language in a tolerably explicit way would probably be a difficult task.

It is thus time for the students of Greek phonology to abandon the overestimation hitherto bestowed on that material. This was done long ago by students of the history of other languages.

"The orthoepistical statements which have been quoted as infallible proofs of the existence of the Continental pronunciation can ... be

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[168] Teodorsson 1974: 243–281.

explained as due to a wrong sound-analysis or to theoretical considerations. None are wholly conclusive" (spacing-out original).[169]

"Hitherto writers upon the history of Modern English have relied mainly upon the Orthoepists, and have only used comparatively slight collections of actual forms taken from contemporary literature. ... I believe we shall have to change our views of the old writers, and put the study of the private letters and the books written and printed in the period which we are studying first, and that we should only apply to the writers on pronunciation after we have extracted all the information we can get from the former source. When we find the statements of the old grammarians in opposition (in so far as we understand then) to the plain facts, as revealed again and again in the occasional spellings, we shall, I believe, do well to disregard the former, and be guided by the latter."[170]

"We cannot, as Wyld (p. 197) rightly emphasizes, rely too much on those orthoepists who persist for about two hundred years in identifying the English sound with the French or Italian *a*. ... Henslowe's *Diary* provides ... a few *e*-spellings which must reflect the new sound, if not the even closer variant [ɛ]."[171]

The decisive evidence value of spelling deviations was also realized early by German linguists:

"Wenn in den Denkmälern vom Ende des 8. Jahrhs. der Umlaut des *a* in einem Teil der Fälle Bezeichnung erfahren hat, in einem andern Teil unbezeichnet bleibt, so bedeutet das nicht ein Schwanken zwischen *a* und *e*, sondern *a* ist überliefertes Zeichen, *e* entspricht dem wirklichen Laut."[172]

The orthophonic information is quite accurately assigned its proper role by Penzl (1957: 204):

"Orthoëpic evidence is obviously of particular importance, whenever the orthography fails to indicate a phonemic change."

The validity of this position can be shown by a short review of the Attic data, orthographic in relation to others.

It can be established that in some points both types of evidence go together. For example, for most of the consonants the orthophonic or

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[169] Zachrisson 1913: 224.

[170] Wyld 1920: 115 and 116.

[171] Kökeritz 1953: 162 and 163.

[172] Behaghel 1911: 59–60.

other kinds of secondary evidence are not refuted by orthographic data. The letter υ is described by Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 76, p. 52,4–6 Raderm. as a front rounded vowel, while ι is described as different, being unrounded. The Hellenistic orthographic data show that the phonological opposition /i(:)/ : /y(:)/ was preserved by most Attic speakers in that period. But the merger of these phonemes, propagating in the innovative subsystem of Attic from the early 5th century onwards, is not evidenced by any kind of secondary evidence.

The unambiguous description of η by Dion. Hal. (*loc. cit.* 76, p. 51, 16–17) as quite an open sound, certainly as open as [ɛ], is verified by the Attic orthographic data of the Hellenistic era, but only in so far as ⟨H⟩ is found not to correspond to the same sound as ⟨I⟩ in the speech of most speakers. The orthographic data show that ⟨H⟩ corresponded to a close e-sound in the majority of Attic speakers, at least from the 4th century onwards. And the further change [e:]>[i:] accomplished in the innovative system in classical times is not mentioned by any ancient grammarian.

The classical and especially the Hellenistic orthographic data from Attica coincide with the clear statement by Dion. Thrax, p. 58,3–4 Uhlig and Strabo XIV 648 that the *iota* in ᾳ was not pronounced, but Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 162, p. 106,12 Raderm. is refuted.

It is interesting, indeed, to establish that the orthographic data go together with the secondary evidence in some points. But it is much more interesting to find a much larger number of points in which secondary data contradict the primary graphic ones.

The cause of the contradiction lies in the ill-defined reference common to practically all secondary evidence. Dion. Hal. does not state in which dialect the *iota* adscript was pronounced, whether in the formal sociolect of some esoteric elitist group of his time or earlier times (in the latter case his statement is purely prescriptive), or in the local dialect of the Greek community in Rome, or rather in the majority system in Athens.

The evidence of the Attic orthographic data resolves the ambiguity. Being internal Attic evidence, its reference to the Attic dialect is secured, and so is the chronology through the dating of the documents. The data can be related with tolerable certainty to social groups defined in time and locality. Orthographic variation occurs soon after a phonetic change has reached the critical point of producing phonemic change.[173]

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[173] An exception is formed by rephonologizations; cf. Teodorsson 1974: 166–167 and 169.

It is only on the basis of orthographic data that it is possible to trace the very onset of most phonemic changes, locally, temporally, and sociolinguistically.

Writing is psycholinguistically related to speech (and *vice versa*) in a definable phonographonomic (and graphophonologic) way. Just as speech is generally not a matter of will-power, writing is largely not.[174] The moment of unconsciousness opens way to the transfer of phonemic patterns into the graphemic system. The orthographic data from official Attic documents demonstrate that not even a rigorous control of orthographic correctness can eliminate this mechanism.

The moment of unconsciousness in writing being outside the scope of power of social and intellectual control, the field in which the secondary material is produced lies within the compass of this control. Secondary material is never produced unconsciously. It is the result of intentional deliberations by mostly well educated writers.

For example, Aristophanes, when writing a comedy, could not afford to let vulgar pronunciations slip into the utterances of any character, by unconscious psycholinguistic association with the phonemic patterns known by him to be prevalent in the speech of the group to which that character belonged.[175]

When an author writes an onomatopoeic word he intentionally decides to spell it in the traditional way or, if the traditional spelling does not coincide with the contemporary pronunciation, modifies the spelling to make the word more onomatopoeic.

The writing of allusions or rhymes, or the transcription of loanwords are likewise intentional acts that may, or may not, reveal the pronunciation of the writer.

It is only natural that the secondary material can be found to refer—in so far as its reference can be established at all—above all to conservative variants of contemporary language, not seldom used by a minority of speakers only, or to more or less remote historical stages of phonology no longer used by anybody as native speech.[176]

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[174] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 36–42.

[175] "Bei aller Derbheit, die sich unter anderem in den Flüchen äussert, dürfen wir jedoch die eigentliche Vulgärsprache in einem literarischen Kunstwerk nicht erwarten: Die Sklaven reden bei Aristophanes in dem gleichen Attisch wie die Vollbürger" (Thumb 1959: 306–307).

[176] "The most that the best of the old writers do, is to put us on the track of changes that have taken place, and are well established before their time ... The result is that the descriptions are always some way behind the facts, or made to square with the traditional spelling so that they are quite misleading" (Wyld 1920: 117).

To conclude this rather lengthy discussion over a matter that should be self-evident, namely the higher evidential value of orthographic data as compared with other kinds of evidence, it can be established that the study of the secondary evidence as a main source confines the knowledge of the phonological development of a given language to some sort of general conception, lacking details about the chronological, local and social origin of phonemic changes as well as their diachronic development and sociolinguistic propagation.

The two Attic orthographic studies, 1974 and the present one, have yielded a more detailed and exact picture of the history of Attic phonology than that existing before. There are three main features in this more nuanced knowledge,

(1) the early and socially defined origin and propagation of a series of phonemic changes in classical times,

(2) the reaction against this process in the late 4th century and,

(3) the parallel existence of two main subsystems within the Attic dialect, at least from the beginning of the 5th century throughout the pre-Christian Age.

It remains to check these results against existing knowledge about

(a) the general history of Athens and the social, economical, cultural and educational situation in the Attic community during classical and Hellenistic times,

(b) cases of similar phonological development in other languages,

(c) sociolinguistic variation, coexistent phonemic systems, and sound change in general.

The Historical Setting

It might be superfluous to state that no positive conclusions can be drawn about the linguistic development in a given community from a more or less exact knowledge of the general history of that community.

However, the general historical setting may threw light upon trends in the development of a language which have been established on the basis of extant linguistic evidence. It can then be seen whether the linguistic development appears to be at variance with known historical facts or not. In the latter case the historical evidence can be looked upon as supporting the linguistic evidence, while in the case that the historical

facts seem not to agree with the linguistic evidence, this must not be taken as an indication that the latter was misinterpreted. Historical and linguistic development are only correlated to a certain extent.

The general opinion that linguistic change tends to be more rapid in times of political and social instability and change can easily be substantiated by actual cases.[177] Since most sound changes begin in the lower social classes, political changes involving the advancement of these population groups will further the propagation of their innovative subdialect. Reversely, if the political influence of the upper classes, who normally tend to preserve linguistic structures, remains unchangedly strong or is strengthened, linguistic change will be restrained and the trend of propagation of new features may be reversed.

During the 5th century the broad masses of the citizens of Athens rose to full political power. After the death of Pericles in 429 the democracy was radicalized. The Peloponnesian War aggravated the demagogic behavior of many politicians. Oligarchic interludes were of short duration. The radical form of democracy was restored and remained in power down to the defeat at Chaironeia in 338.[178]

This ca. 90 year long period of extreme democratic rule is exactly the period for which the orthographic data demonstrate a rapid spread of the innovative popular subdialect among the population.

Under the democratic regime the old aristocracy never ceased to aim at political and cultural power. Post-Socratic philosophers and some retoricians, e.g. Isocrates, were more or less decidedly against democracy and recommended an oligarchic political system. After the defeat of democratic Athens against the Macedonians in 338 the critics of democracy intensified their demand for a restoration of the "Old Constitution of the Fathers", i.e. a Solonic, timocratic system.

The austere puritan Lycurgus (338–326) conveyed a reaction in cultural, religious and military matters. The cadet corps of the ephebes was reorganized. The influence of the Areopag increased. After the death of Lycurgus the establishment of the new office of the νομοφύλακες was a flagrant antidemocratic act.[179]

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[177] Popular Latin changed rapidly during the 5th–8th centuries, and French underwent especially profound changes in the 14th–16th centuries and in the late 18th and the first half of the 19th century (Dauzat 1950: 14; 18–19; 67; 99–103). In English there was also a rapid development in the 14th–16th centuries.

[178] Cf. Busolt 1920/26: 924.

[179] Busolt 1920/26: 924–927.

With the regime of Demetrius of Phaleron (317–307) a moderate oligarchy was established.

The moderate democracy under Stratocles of Diomeia (307–294) continued along the lines drawn by Lycurgus.

During the first half of the 3rd century Athens suffered under Macedonian hegemony, which was intensified after the disastrous Chremonidean war in 261/0. The influence of the oligarchic groups remained strong. The leadership of the family of Eurycleides and Micion during the last half of the century meant a strenghtening of the position of the aristrocracy.[180]

The political system of Athens during the period 196–166 has been called "Tory democracy",[181] and thereafter the new rulers in hegemony of Greece, the Romans, acted as solid supporters of the upper classes.

After the sack of Corinth in 146, down to 129/8, however, there seems to have been a temporary decline of aristocratic power in Athens.[182]

It is obvious that the general political development of Athens from the middle of the 4th century onwards is not at variance with linguistic evidence; the evolution of Attic phonology evidenced by the orthography is only what could be expected.

The cultural prestige of Athens increased steadily during the 4th century, while the political power of the town suffered repeated set-backs. This development continued in the 3rd century, during which the new philosophic schools, the Stoic and the Epicurean, flourished and rapidly became influential cultural centres. Athens maintained its position as the leading centre of learning in Greece throughout the Hellenistic period.

As regards the history of education, no exact knowledge exists about the quality of teaching or the spread of literacy either in the classical or the later times.[183] If the allegedly Solonic law on education[184] actually prescribed letters for all boys or not is not decisive. However, it is probable that, for practical reasons, literacy was quite widespread among Athenian citizens as early as the end of the 6th century.[185] However, the

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[180] Cf. MacKendrick 1969: 39–43.

[181] Ferguson 1911: 278–311; MacKendrick 1969: 43–47.

[182] MacKendrick 1969: 53–54.

[183] Cf. Schmitter 1975.

[184] Plut. *Sol.* 22.

[185] Freeman 1922: 52; Beck 1964: 77; Teodorsson 1974: 29–32. For the situation in other Greek states, cf. Freeman 1922: 76–77.

quality of education may be supposed to have varied considerably between schools, which were all private. Poor people could not afford a good education for their sons.[186]

After the Peloponnesian War the lower social classes of Athens and Attica endured severe poverty.[187] The more or less oligarchic and aristocratic regimes holding power during Hellenistic times are not likely to have facilitated schooling for poor people.

These circumstances are relevant to the issue of the value of different types of epigraphic documents as evidence of the pronunciation of different social groups. In the diachronic comparison of the frequency of certain orthographic variations performed above in Chapter 3, comparability was obtained by the exclusion of strictly private documents.[188]

The transformation of the office of the γραμματεύς in 368/7 or 363/2 cannot be brought into a well-defined relationship to the formal quality of the official inscriptions. Before that date there was one elected secretary, who was replaced by another ten times a year, while after that time there were two secretaries in duty for a whole year. These were designated by lot among a number of candidates.[189]

In 322/1 the old system was restored by the oligarchic government. The democrats who succeeded Demetrius of Phaleron in 307/6 returned again to the system introduced in the 360ies, and this was then preserved until the 1st century B.C.

Looking at the frequency of orthographic variation one can establish that, after the first reform, the frequency increased, while after the last one it decreased. This pattern is also found in the general quality of the inscriptions. The letter forms and the general design of the inscriptions began to be neglected in the early 4th century. This trend continued throughout the century and lasted until about 280. Then a deliberate reaction against the corruption of writing started.[190]

It is obvious, then, that the competence of the γραμματεῖς was not related to the procedures of appointment or the period of duty. But the temporal coincidence of the reaction against the corruption of writing with the central period of reduction of orthographic variation is significant.

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[186] Bryant 1907: 107–108.

[187] Mossé 1973: 12–16.

[188] Cf. above, p. 57.

[189] Busolt 1920/26: 478 and 1033–1041.

[190] Larfeld 1902: 454–470.

To sum up, it may be established that there is nothing in the general political, cultural, and educational history of Athens, nor in the history of Attic epigraphy, that can be said to be at variance with the evidence of orthographic data as they were interpreted in the two studies. On the contrary, the turnover in the phonological development of the Attic dialect from innovation to conservatism had a correlate in the outer, political, development and inner, cultural, trends and aims of the leading classes of the Athenian community.

Parallels in Other Languages

The reaction on the part of the speakers of the conservative subdialect of Attic as against the popular innovative one is not an unparalleled phenomenon.

New linguistic features may originate and spread among the lower and middle classes of a language community, but may be stigmatized as "vulgar" and thus be repudiated by the upper classes.

However, political power is an essential factor of the propagation of linguistic innovations. If a social class enlarges its political prestige —although its social status may remain low—the language form used by that class is positively marked and tends to be accepted by other, primarily the closest associated, classes.[191]

If, however, the predominating class loses its leading position, and another (higher) social class obtains dominance, then the trend of propagation is reversed. The language form that had been positively marked even in the middle classes is now stigmatized much more strongly by the leading upper class and, consequently, the users of that language form now make efforts to abandon it and adopt the high prestige form of the leading social groups.

The existence of literacy in the community is not a prerequisite but certainly a strong factor of this process. This is particularly the case when a language community cherishes a codified old literature, as was the case with Homer in Ancient Greece. From the Hellenistic period onwards the classical Attic literature played that part in addition. Indeed, the conception of the literature of the classical period as a model can be traced back to Aristophanes who in 405, after the death of Sopho-

[191] The mechanism of sound change as seen from the sociolinguistic point of view was surveyed very lucidly by Labov 1965: 110–112.

cles and Euripides in the previous year, lamented over the bad contemporary situation, maintaining that there be no good tragic poets any more.[192]

As early as the 4th century there was a beginning epigonic feeling which was combined with conservatism, purism, and aristocratic views. It was quite natural that the appraisal of the good old days and the excellent old authors should lead to the idealization and preservation of their language form. This attitude was materialized in the Atticism of the Hellenistic and later times.

A close parallel to this development is offered by the history of the French language.

In late Middle French a series of sound changes started.[193] This was the disordered period of the Hundred Years War, during which the old feudal system collapsed. The innovative processes continued with the Renaissance and the Wars of Religion. In this period of rapid change the humanist grammarians began to react against the popular innovations of the language, inspired by their vivid study of the Latin classics. The reaction was successful. A number of sound changes that had been accomplished in the popular subsystem were checked and repressed, e.g. [o] > [u], [we] > [e], [er] > [ar], [VrV] > [VzV].[194]

In the following period of stability, the 17th and 18th centuries down to the Revolution in 1789, the reaction was even stronger and thus succeeded in definitely eradicating the above-mentioned innovations. There was a residue of only a few forms in which the conservative pronunciation could not be restored. Also a number of new sound changes coming up during this period were counteracted and stopped, while a few were accepted.[195]

The French stigmatization of popular sound changes was quite overt. The stigmatized forms were discussed and repudiated with disgust or turned to ridicule. This extreme stigmatization of forms of the low status subsystem by users of the highest prestige form of language is particularly effective for their disappearance.[196]

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[192] *Frogs* 72–73 δέομαι ποιητοῦ δεξιοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσίν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.

[193] Dauzat 1950: 67.

[194] Dauzat 1950: 68–85; Fouché 1961: 754–756.

[195] Dauzat 1950: 86–94; Fouché 1961: 785–791.

[196] Labov 1965: 112.—There may very well have been such overt topic about stigmatized forms in Ancient Greek communities; cf., for example, Plat. *Crat.* 418 b–d, and Teodorsson 1974: 263–264.

The resemblance between the history of the French language from the late Middle Ages down to the Revolution, and the Attic development in classical and Hellenistic times is apparent. But there is one essential difference. In French the conservatism succeeded in rooting out most of the popular innovations that had originated before or begun during the period of strong reaction. Only a few changes were accepted and another few forced their way into common use after the fall of the '*Ancien Régime*'. Generally, it was the conservative upper class dialect that survived, to the exclusion of other ones.[197]

This French case forms an extreme. Usually, reactions against natural sound changes are only partially or temporarily successful. For example, the Middle English change [iŋ] > [in] in pres. part. has by now borne its stigma for at least 150 years but is still in use,[198] while the 17th–18th century pronunciation [kj], [gj] for [k], [g] was totally eliminated in the 19th century.[199]

In archaic Latin a number of sound changes had taken place,[200] which are not found in formal classical Latin, but survived in the popular subsystem,[201] to form the essential basis of Romance languages.

The fact that the struggle against innovation in order to preserve old language forms is problematic is excellently demonstrated by the late Middle French change [we] > [e]. When it was stigmatized by the grammarians and [we] was reintroduced the innovative system relieved the pressure by producing a deviating change [we] > [wa], which could never be rooted out by the purists.[202]

It can be established, then, that linguistic reaction always achieves current sociolinguistic variation being prolonged, not seldom over many centuries, through the conservation of an old language stage. This is what happened in Attic and was continued in Koine.

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[197] "Le 17e siècle ... a proclamé la nécessité d'une prononciation partout régularisée. Aujourd'hui la prononciation est unifiée en français, et il est dangereux de ne pas se conformer à la norme" (Wartburg 1965: 187–188).

[198] Wyld 1920: 289–290.

[199] Sturtevant 1947: 79.

[200] For example, [au] > [o:], [ai] > [æ:]/[a:], [ns] > [s], [h] > [Ø], and the loss final [m]; cf. Lindsay 1897: 42–49, 62–67, and 78–80; Niedermann 1953: 67–75; Meillet 1948: 125 "Le latin a été fixé à un moment où le système morphologique changeait fortement".

[201] Cf. Väänänen 1958.

[202] Dauzat 1950: 76–78 and 100.

Sociolinguistic variation is a common, perhaps universal, phenomenon. It is found in illiterate[203] as well as literate language communities. Much research has been done on this subject, not least in the last decade. The synchronic study of sociolinguistic variations can contribute very much to the understanding of the mechanisms of sound change and is thus directly relevant to historical phonology.

It has been established that sociolinguistic variation is related to age groups,[204] social classes,[205] and even sex. The last relation is particularly interesting seeing that there exist a number of concordant studies showing that the speech of women is more progressive then men's speech, albeit that this feature is not universally found.[206] As yet there is no explanation of this phenomenon.

The existence of such sexual differentiations in language may be supposed to have a social correlate, just as other sociolinguistic borderlines are determined by social stratification and group solidarity. Considering the marked division of the Ancient Greek society into one masculine and one feminine part, it is certainly very probable that there may have existed distinct "genolects".[207] The overt topic about the iotacistic pronunciation of women by Plato[208] as opposed to the etacistic one of his interlocutors is a patent suggestion of that.

The knowledge of women's genolects as tending towards progressiveness makes the passage particularly interesting. If it is meant to be something other than nonsense, it must be interpreted in the diametri-

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[203] Bloomfield 1927.

[204] Bremer 1893: XII–XV; Gauchat 1905; Hermann 1929: 203; Remacle 1944: 123–126; Fónagy 1956: 203–207.

[205] "In English there is a marked difference between the written and spoken standards of most people. In addition, there are styles within each, according to the situation ... A complete language has its formal and informal styles, its regional accents, and its class or occupational jargons" (Haugen 1966: 932). Cf. Labov 1963; 1964; 1972: 43–57; Francescato 1959; Gumperz 1966.—The very distinct social stratification in India offers particularly illustrative examples of sociolinguistic variation. In many cases the caste dialects differ so much as to produce diglossia in the sense of Ferguson (1959); cf. Gumperz 1958; Bright 1960; Sjoberg 1962.

[206] Gauchat 1905: 205, 209, 211, 218–219, 224–226; Hermann 1929: 203. The phenomenon is also known from the history of French, e.g., the women were at the head of the change [r] > [z] in the 16th century (Thurot 1881/3 II 271–272).

Lately, the same pattern was found in New York, Detroit, and Chicago (Labov 1972: 301–304).

[207] "Genolect" will be an appropriate term for a linguistic variant defined by sex.

[208] *Crat.* 418 b–d, cited and discussed by Teodorsson 1974: 263–264; cf. also pp. 90, Var. 17,16–19, n., 48, n. 47, 277, n. 272.

cally opposite direction to that intended by Plato himself, namely that the i-pronunciation of women was an innovation, while the e-pronunciation practised by the conversial philosophers was a conservative variant fostered by tradition in the outer would of men.

Plato must not at all be taken as a reliable source of linguistic information, especially not in his *Cratylus*, but if new hard data in the form of primary texts come to light that can be related to the passage in a tolerably well-defined way, then it may be possible to decide if perhaps iotacism in Attic had its origin above all in the feminine genolect. Until then this must remain an unverifiable, but rather plausible, hypothesis.

Attic and Koine

The present study has shown that the conservative subsystem of Attic had a stronger position in Hellenistic than in classical times. A similar relationship was found to exist between Ptolemaic Koine and classical Attic.[209] But neither in Athens nor in Ptolemaic Egypt could the conservative system eliminate the innovative one, but had to accept some of its patterns. This was the case, above all, in late Ptolemaic Koine.[210] In the Roman and Byzantine periods this development continued.[211] Everywhere in the Greek-speaking area the progressive subsystem, which originally derived from Old Attic, was finally victorious and established itself as the standard, while the conservative pronunciation was carefully preserved by esoteric purist groups for many more centuries.

For the Hellenistic era, the Attic data indicate a stronger position of the conservative subsystem than the Ptolemaic data do. This is not an unexpected outcome, considering the favourable conditions for conservatism and purism in Hellenistic Athens with its philosophic and rhetoric education centres and its rather static oligarchic political system. There is some evidence that one change, /y/ (graphic ⟨Υ⟩, ⟨ΟΙ⟩) > /i/ never became general in Attica.[212]

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[209] Cf. Teodorsson 1977. For the issue of the descent of Koine from Attic, see discussion *loc. cit.*: 25–35.

[210] *Loc. cit.*: 253–255.

[211] Cf., for example, Meisterhans 1900: 19, 58–59, 62; and Gignac 1976.

[212] Spellings such as καθεδρούσατο, χρουσός etc. from the late 2nd c. A.D. on seem to indicate a (conditioned) change /y/ > /u/ (Meisterhans 1900: 30). If there is a connection between this evidence and the case of Old Athenian, which has /u/ as a reflex of ancient /y/, e.g. [ʏunéka], [tˢulía] (γυναῖκα, κοιλία), cannot be decided as yet; cf. Thumb 1895: 5; Newton 1972: 19–23; Cifoletti 1973: 249–250.

Written Koine was a uniform language. Variation is mainly stylistic and lexical. The range of variation in spoken Koine in the vast area where it was used has not yet been mapped out in detail. More knowledge of the matter could certainly be gained by systematic investigations of orthographic variation in the texts from different regions. Although it is to be expected that there existed considerable differences, it is a known fact, however, that the evolution of Koine as a whole was very uniform. Koine did not, like Latin, diverge into quite separate languages, which would have been entirely natural, considering the large extension and geographic disparity of the Greek-speaking world.

The uniform written language certainly contributed very much to the standardization of the spoken language. Literacy was probably rather widespread in the Hellenistic period all over the Greek area, and recitation, dictation, and reading aloud were activities much more practised in Antiquity than nowadays. But the influence from the written language through its use in speech cannot be supposed to have furthered the innovative phonological tendencies of the language but rather to have supported the conservative phonological system. The source of innovation and evolution must have been the spoken language of everyday use. But then the question arises: how could this evolution of the spoken standard proceed so uniformly in the whole language area?

It seems that there are two conditions essential to this development:

(a) the origin of Koine must have been *one* well-defined language form, not many different dialect forms, and

(b) the phonological evolution of Koine must have been prepared and initiated in the parental language form, i.e. in the Ionic-Attic Koine used in the Aegean area in late classical times, *before* the emigration to the new overseas countries and the propagation of this "Aegean" Koine there, as well as in the old Greek-speaking region.

The Ionic-Attic Koine that was exported outside its original area through the conquests of Alexander and the Macedonian hegemony was essentially Attic and thus quite a uniform language form, but it possessed at least two phonological subsystems, one conservative and one innovative.[213] In the latter the vowel system had already undergone

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[213] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 256–257.—For a modern example of export of two competing phonological variants through emigration, cf. the case of [wa]~[wɔ] vacillation in American English, which derives its origin from the change [wa]>[wɔ]

profound changes, while the consonantal system was only in the initial stage of evolution. However, the first steps had been taken in the direction of change that is evidenced later all over the Koine area.

The coming evolution of the consonantal system of Koine had been prepared in Attic by the following initial changes:

(1) [g]>[ɣ], which was the first step in the fricativization of the series /b, d, g/,[214] a shift that was connected with the change

(2) [eu], [au]>[ew], [aw] (>[eß], [aß]) before a vowel or a voiced consonant, while the parallel change

(3) [eu], [au]>[ew], [aw] (>[ef], [af]) before a voiceless consonant was the first step towards the fricativization of the aspirate series /p^h, t^h, k^h/.

Thus, late classical Attic bore the embryos, as it were, of the coming phonological evolution in Koine. This theory will probably be of use for the explanation of the uniformity of Koine and, consequently, the coherence of Modern Greek dialects as deriving from Koine. However, further research is needed, to see if this model works or if there are other, additional,[215] factors in the origin and development of Koine.

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that was going on in British English during the 17th and 18th centuries (Sturtevant 1947: 78–79).

[214] For the order of fricativization of this series, cf. Teodorsson 1977: 253, n. 316.

[215] For example, there is the early and widespread fricativization in Doric dialects.

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NOTATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

NOTATIONS

Linguistics

{ }	Morpheme.
/ /	Phoneme.
[ ]	Allophone, phone (IPA phonetic transcription).
/V/	Any vowel phoneme.
/C/	Any consonant phoneme.
< >	Grapheme (written in capitals).
⟨α⟩	Any autographeme.
⟨σ⟩	Any syngrapheme.
#	Boundary of word or sentence.
|	Boundary of line.
/_	Position of occurrence of item under discussion. E.g., [z] /_[d] means: [z] occurs in the position before [d].
~	Variation (between two or more items).
>	Change into.
<	Change from.
Ø	Zero: absence of any linguistic unit.
{ }	Braces are used to abbreviate the listing of (two or more) symbols with identical but not simultaneous function in the context. E.g., ⟨EI⟩ /_{$^{\langle\sigma\rangle}_{\#}$} means: ⟨EI⟩ in the position before syngrapheme *or* word boundary.
( )	Parentheses are used to abbreviate the listing of (two or more) symbols with identical function and optional co-occurrence. E.g., /V(:)/ means: (a) any short vowel, (b) any long vowel.

Epigraphy

[αβ]	Illegible letters restored by the editor.
{αβ}	Superfluous letters deleted by the editor.
⟨αβ⟩	Omitted letters supplemented by the editor.
(αβ)	Letters omitted by the writer through abbreviation and supplemented by the editor.
[[αβ]]	Letters erased by the writer but still legible.
α̣β̣	Letters partly damaged so that reading is not entirely certain.

ABBREVIATIONS

CL	Document published with a transcription in capital letters.
Comm.	Instance commented on by the editor.
FS	Document published with a facsimile.
MG	Modern Greek.
Ph.	Document published with a photograph.
Var.	Orthographic variant or orthographic variation.

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